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Greece's Tighter Border Protection Viewed

AU1112095895 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 7 Dec 95 p 3

[Commentary by Aleksander Cipa: "The Greek Factor in the Albanian Election Campaign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last few days, Greek newspapers of all political shades have given lavish coverage to the visit of three ministers to the country's northernmost town of Ioannina. What is more important for the government was that this ministerial trio's journey was also watched with interest by our newspapers, because the measures announced at the Ioannina meeting involve the deployment of a considerable number of Greek military and police forces in order to stem the flow of clandestine Albanian migrants. The measures are indeed different from those used on previous occasions when the Greeks have taken official steps against this traffic. The very statement of Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias in Ioannina that "Albania's failure to secure its own borders compels Greece to double the cost of protecting its own" obviously indicates the greater importance of halting "the ceaseless flow of Albanian migrants into Greece." Moreover, Greek Interior Minister Valirakis' statement that the total figure reached by adding the numbers for 1991-95 amounts to 1,019,006 Albanians is a clear indicator of how financially important the matter of "dealing with the Albanians" has become for the present Greek Government. The publication of these figures and the Greek Government's most recent measures are at the same time positive steps in balancing political accounts with the opposition. Papandreou's ministers are frequently taking stock in this way because there are daily attacks from the Greek opposition over the paralysis of the government of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement [PASOK] brought about by the prime minister's state of health. These have involved political insinuations that raise problems for the whole of Greece. However the final statement by the Greek Government's three most important ministers about "Albanian migration and the problems brought by this complicated phenomenon" has a different significance for foreign policy. The very presence of Foreign Minister Papoulias at this meeting, which was on the surface a merely formal affair, was a sign of something special. His presence had two possible meanings. It either predicts a new Greek "clean sweep" of the Albanians, or, as experience in the electoral buildups in both countries shows, it is a sign of a tendency for each side to make political statements about the other, each in the spirit of its respective ruling party. The Albanian Socialists have long been accused in the Albanian progovernment press of flirting with the Greek PASOK. The agenda of the talks some time ago between President Berisha and Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias included an unpublicized private request by the latter for an end to the "case" of the imprisoned Fatos Nano. This remained a request and met with an unfavorable reply from our president and the Democratic Party government. The political mismatch between the governments of Athens and Tirana has led to a series of innuendoes in diplomatic relations. The Greek Government's most recent measures on the Albanian border are of this kind: The PASOK leadership of the Greek Government no doubt has political reason to be upset at the policies of the Democratic Party in Albania. They can therefore not fail to hold fast to their political pragmatism, especially when they too are faced with the run-up to elections.

Republic's Law on Armed Forces Published

95P21060A Tirana FLETORJA ZYRTARE in Albanian Aug 95 pp 813-829

["Text" of Law No. 7978 of 26 July 1995 on the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania]

[FBIS Translated Text] Law No. 7978 of 26 July 1995 on the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania:

On the basis of Article 16 of Law No. 7491 of 29 April 1991, "On the Main Constitutional Provisions," upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers, the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania decrees:

CHAPTER I

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1—The Armed Forces are maintained for the protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Albania and of its constitutional system. They are composed of the Army, the Forces of the Ministry of Interior, and the Forces of the National Intelligence Service.

Article 2—The organization and activity of the Armed Forces are based on the Constitution, on the laws, and on the pertinent legal decrees.

Article 3—The Army is the main armed force for the protection of the Fatherland from foreign military aggression. It is composed of the Ground Forces, the Air Defense Forces, the Sea Defense Forces, and the Territorial Forces.

Article 4—The forces of the Army are also used for peacekeeping, humanitarian, and rescue operations, both inside and outside the country. In extraordinary situations, they can also be used to maintain public order.

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CHAPTER II

MILITARY SERVICE

Article 5—Military service is a right and obligation for every Albanian citizen for the defense of the Fatherland, the Republic of Albania. When they are inducted into military service, soldiers take a military oath in the following form: "As a member of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania I swear that I will be a faithful soldier of my people, a worthy, brave, and disciplined combatant, that I will carry out the demands of the Constitution and the laws, and that I will be ready at any time and in any place, not sparing even my life for the defense of the Fatherland. May the most severe punishment be given to me if I violate this solemn oath. I do swear".

Article 6—Albanian citizens, wherever they are located, are obliged to perform active or reserve military service in the Republic of Albania. Military service is performed personally.

Article 7—Albanian citizens who reach the age of 16 are registered by the mobilization branch.

Article 8—Compulsory active military service is performed by citizens 19-32 years of age. If a citizen fails to perform compulsory active military service, while his name is registered on the list of transport under arms, and has not reached the age of 32, in addition to other penalties stipulated by law, he is obliged to perform compulsory active military service until he is 40.

Article 9—Compulsory reserve military service is performed by citizens of up to 55 years of age, after they have completed active military service or have reached the age of 40 without performing compulsory active military service. For the needs of defense, female citizens 19-40 years of age can also voluntarily perform reserve military service. For certain specialities, the age limit is 45. In the case of a general mobilization, the age for compulsory active and reserve military service changes according to the situations and the needs of the Armed Forces, on the basis of a law of the People's Assembly or a decree of the President of the Republic.

Article 10—Drafting for active military service begins on the date that the citizen reaches the age of 19.

Article 11—Albanian citizens 16-32 years of age, wherever they are located, and even when they have not been notified, are obliged to appear at the mobilization branch to register, equipped with military documentation and ready to perform compulsory active military service.

Article 12—A citizen who has reported for compulsory active military service is not given a passport for leaving the country. When an Albanian citizen leaves the country, before he departs, he must sign, with the respective mobilization branch, a contract for the period of the performance of this service. The contract is signed by the chairman of the respective mobilization branch, the parent (guardian) when the citizen is under 18 years of age, and the citizen himself. In cases in which the citizen who has been drafted is at least 18 years of age, the contract is signed by the chairman of the respective mobilization branch and the citizen himself. The contract states the time period during which the person will be out of the country, when he will appear at the respective mobilization branch after his return and his obligation if the contract is broken. The contract is signed for a period of up to two years. The conditions of the contract and the obligations are specified by decision of the Council of Ministers. The order to cancel the obligation specified in the contract constitutes an executive title. The organs of public order cannot give passports to citizens without receiving the document from the respective mobilization branch which shows whether the citizen has made any changes at the mobilization branch.

Article 13—Reservists who are out of the country more than six months for employment or for other reasons are obliged to present themselves as soon as possible at the mobilization branch to register. Within 60 days of their departure from the country, they are obliged to go to the consular or diplomatic missions to be listed in the records.

These missions put the persons' names on the records and notify the Ministry of Defense within 60 days.

Article 14—The length of time of compulsory military service in the Armed Forces is:

a) For active soldiers—12 months;

b) For reserve soldiers—6 months;

c) For reserve NCO's—7 months;

d) For reserve officers—8 months.

The compulsory military service of reservists is performed after the execution of active military service, usually one month every four years.

e) Equipment, vehicles, and animals can be taken over for exercises and readiness tests up to half the time that the troops in the military unit (subunit) to which they belong are called up for military service. In the case of partial or general mobilization, the period of military service is extended for as long as the mobilization continues, by law or by decree of the President of the Republic. During the period of compulsory military service in the reserves, the persons called to duty are

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paid by the centers where they have actually been employed.

Article 15—Albanian citizens who are fit for service and within the age limits for active military service can be exempted from compulsory military service by personally paying a specified sum of money. In these cases, the criteria and the amount of the fee are set by decision of the Council of Ministers. Albanian citizens employed outside the country who are called for compulsory active military service must pay a specified sum of money to the state to postpone this service for a year. Persons whose military service is postponed for a year are sentenced to prison in accordance with the last paragraph of this article if they do not present themselves for service the next year. Albanian citizens who are within the age limits for compulsory active military service and do not satisfy the obligation to make payment or do not present themselves for compulsory active military service are sentenced to prison for a period of from six months to four years.

Article 16—Citizens who have executed compulsory active military service can sign contracts with the unit command to continue military service in the Armed Forces for payment. The contract is signed for a period of no less than three years.

Article 17—When Albanian citizens who have been called up for compulsory active military service have difficult family situations, the state takes measures to provide socioeconomic assistance. The conditions and criteria for according this assistance are stipulated by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 18—The call-up of citizens for compulsory active military service and their appointment to the branches and services of the armed forces are carried out by the mobilization branch. The time of the call-up, its issuance, and the manner of organizing the military mobilization are set by order of the minister of defense. Commissions, whose composition and duties are stipulated by the minister of defense, are established in the mobilization branches for the purpose of determining physical and health capabilities for executing compulsory active and reserve military service. If the commission decides that the citizen should be exempted from compulsory active military service, the case must be reviewed by the higher-level commission of the Central Hospital of the Army. When this commission is of the same opinion as the basic commission, the decision and the relevant documents are sent to the minister of defense. The report goes into effect when it is signed by the minister of defense. The various state organs and institutions provide medical personnel, equipment, and medicines to the military-medical commissions, upon request from the mobilization branches. The providing of medical personnel, equipment, and medicines and of compensation for them is regulated by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 19—The military receive free health care in all the state health institutions. The criteria for benefitting from this service are set by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 20—Citizens who are called up for compulsory active military service present themselves at the stipulated time and place. Citizens are notified by means of a call-up announcement (call-up list) and by state radio and television. If the chairman of the mobilization branch requests it, those who do not present themselves after this notification will be brought in escorted by the public order police.

Article 21—Any citizen who is serving a sentence with deprivation of freedom is not called up for compulsory active and reserve military service. The court, when it hands down a prison sentence to citizens who are subject to compulsory active and reserve military service, and the appropriate organs which have begun their penal prosecution, send a notification, within 10 days, to the mobilization branch which has the citizens on their records. When the persons who have been sentenced are released, the reeducation commands and divisions notify the appropriate mobilization branches within 15 days. Thirty days before the release of the persons sentenced, the reeducation commands notify the mobilization branches if these persons have not completed their compulsory military service. The mobilization branches are obliged to contact the persons, provide records of the necessary data and set the date for them to present themselves for compulsory active military service. In these cases, active military service is compulsory for all citizens up to the age of 40. The mobilization branches are also notified within 15 days by the respective organs in cases of the withdrawal of the law suit or any changes related to the custody as a security measure and also when a ruling of not guilty is given. When a citizen is given a prison sentence during the time that he is performing compulsory active military service and when he leaves his unit without permission during the period of the service, the time spent serving the sentence and the time that he was away from the unit without permission are not included in the calculation of the period of the execution of military service.

Article 22—The early release from compulsory active military service of those who are declared unfit for health reasons is executed by decision of the superior military medical commission. This decision goes into effect after it is signed by the minister of defense.

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Medical reports which are given to the military (soldiers or reservists) for temporary incapacity for up to two months are confirmed by the medical commission of the mobilization office of the districts and the unit health service, and, when it is a matter of more than two months, they are confirmed by the Central Hospital of the Army. Any period of temporary incapacity for compulsory active military service of up to six months is calculated in the time of active military service, but when this incapacity lasts more than six months, the period beyond six months is not calculated in the time of compulsory military service.

Article 23—The performance of active military service by students in military schools of higher education begins on the day of admission to the school. When a student interrupts his studies for unjustifiable reasons and the deadline for performing military service is not met, he is sent to an army unit to carry out the service.

Article 24—Citizens who are studying full-time in schools of higher education, inside and outside the country, are called up to perform compulsory active military service immediately after the completion of the studies. Those who do not complete the school of higher education by the age of 32 interrupt their studies and are called up to perform this service. Citizens who complete higher education perform military service in special units in accordance with their training. For citizens who complete full-time university studies prior to 31 December 2000, the period of compulsory active military service is six months, with the exception of the cases stipulated in Articles 24/a and 24/b of Law No. 7527 of 11 December 1991 "On Military Service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania."

Article 25—When Albanian citizens are called up for active or reserve military service for exercises and for other forms of military training and for a partial and general call-up and mobilization, they are summoned by the municipalities and the communes to present themselves to the mobilization offices or the commands of units and formations in accordance with the regulations stipulated by decision of the Council of Ministers. In the case of partial or general mobilization, Albanian citizens who are outside the country for employment, service or other reasons are obliged to return home to their country. They are notified by the Albanian consulate (diplomatic representation) in accordance with the requirements and criteria specified by the minister of defense. Exceptions are made only for patients in hospitals or for persons with incapacity reports certified by a medical commission. When the person leaves the hospital or his report expires, he responds to the call immediately.

Article 26—The supplying of military units with reservists, vehicles, animals, and other necessary equipment is carried out on a territorial basis in the district and, when necessary, even outside it. On the occasion of readiness tests and partial and general mobilization, the organs of local government must organize, on a locality, street, village, commune, municipality, city, etc., basis, the system of sending information by courier signal system and other forms for notifying and calling up the persons mobilized at the appropriate time and place. Criteria for the organization of this system are stipulated by the Council of Ministers.

Article 27—The following do not take part in exercises, musters, or other forms of military training:

a) Deputies, ministers, officials of central institutions, prefects, chairmen of district and municipality councils, the chairman of the Constitutional Court, the chairman of the Court of Cassation, the chairmen of the Appellate Courts and of the district courts, the public prosecutors of the districts, persons who are outside the country in our missions, for studies or for medical treatment, as well as all those who are designated by ministries or other central institutions as persons who have critical duties whose interruption would cause serious damage to vital sectors of the state or of the economy. Entities which operate in special situations, stipulated by decision of the Council of Ministers, are also exempted.

b) Sick persons who certify their temporary incapacity for military training with medical commission reports, as well as hospital patients.

c) Persons under arrest and sentenced to prison, for the entire period of their arrest and of the serving of the sentence.

CHAPTER III

OFFICERS AND NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS

Article 28—Any citizen of the Republic of Albania who has completed higher military school or civilian higher education supplemented by the required military training courses can become an active officer of the armed forces. The length of time of the military service of active officers is specified in a separate law. Citizens who have been sentenced for embezzlement, falsification of official documents or abuse of position are not accepted as active officers.

Article 29—Any citizen of the Republic of Albania who has technical-vocational training for his job, middle education, or higher education and who has completed compulsory active military service can be an active NCO of the armed forces, except for women who

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are not required to comply with the latter condition. Citizens who have been sentenced for embezzlement, falsification of official documents, or abuse of position are not accepted as active NCO's. In addition to the aforementioned conditions, a career noncommissioned officer must complete career NCO training school, in the appropriate speciality. The length of time of the military service of active NSO's extends up to age 55 for men and age 50 for women.

Article 30—For active officers and NCO's, seniority in military service is calculated from the date that the person becomes a member of the armed forces of the Republic of Albania as a soldier, cadet, or military student (in military and civilian schools of higher education).

Article 31—Any citizen with middle or higher education who has the required military training can be a reserve officer or NCO.

They carry out duties of military service in the ranks of the armed forces for a specified time period. When they are not assigned to such duties, they are kept on the records of the mobilization branches and are called when the need arises. The regulations on ranking, giving assignments to, and discharging reserve officers and NCO's are specified by the ministers of defense and interior. When a reserve officer or NCO is not successful in his job or violates the laws, the officer's duties are cut back and he becomes an NCO while the reserve NCO becomes just a soldier. For officers, the order is given by the minister of defense and of interior, respectively, and for NCO's, it is given by the body which has the person's name in its books.

Article 32—The assignment, promotion, transfer, conversion to reserve status, and the discharge of active career officers and NCO's are carried out by order of the minister of defense, minister of interior or the head of the National Intelligence Service [SHIK]. For high-ranking active officers, assignments, promotions, transfers, conversions to reserve status, and discharges are executed by decree of the President of the Republic upon recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Career officers and NCO's can be commanded to perform special assignments for a period of up to one year. The rights and competences for command are stipulated in decrees with the force of law issued by the minister of defense, the minister of interior, and the head of the SHIK. When they begin their studies in military schools, all career officers and NCO's sign a contract which specify conditions and sanctions if the contract is not observed. The order of the appropriate minister regarding the obligation in the case of the failure to keep the contract is an executive order.

An active officer of the armed forces is converted to reserve status in the following cases:

a) When downsizing occurs as a result of reform in the armed forces and he cannot be assigned to any other position.

b) When he is unfit to serve as an active officer in the armed forces on the basis of a medical report issued by the Central Hospital of the Army.

c) At his request when he has completed the period of service for a partial pension or when the contract he has signed as an active officer expires.

ch) When he does not satisfy the conditions and criteria for a higher rank and there is no assignment available for an officer of his rank.

d) When he is transferred to another assigment outside the armed forces.

e) When he reaches the age for a full old-age pension.

An active officer is discharged in the following cases:

a) When he violates the laws or seriously and repeatedly violates military discipline.

b) When he abandons his assignment and breaks the contract he has signed in a unilateral manner. Active NCO's of the armed forces are discharged for the reasons specified in this article. In regard to all the disagreements arising in these cases, a member of the military has the right to appeal in the court within 10 days of the communication of the order. The manner of compensation and the treatment of members of the military who are converted to reserve status or discharged are regulated by a separate law.

CHAPTER IV

MILITARY RECORDS

Article 33—One or several mobilization branches operate in each prefecture on a territorial and district basis. These branches create the necessary evidence for the mobilization of resources (human, animal, technical, and other resources) and operate on the basis of the legal provisions in force and the appropriate regulations.

Article 34—The moblization branches are dependent upon the Ministry of Defense (Directorate for Military Organization) in regard to the supplying, record-keeping, planning, and use of human resources, animals, vehicles, tractors, and other equipment and the technical-professional training of personnel. The mobilization branches are responsible to the prefect for the supplying of military units, divisions, and institutions,

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and for the organization of communications and mobilization.

Article 35—Ministries and central institutions, organs of state administration, enterprises, other institutions, political, economic, and social organizations, legal persons, and private employers are obliged to give the mobilization branches, on a timely basis, all the necessary data in regard to the citizens and the animals, vehicles, and equipment which they possess and all the changes which they undergo.

Article 36—The offices of vital statistics are obliged to give the mobilization branches lists of youths who have reached the age of 16, including their address, place of birth and place of residence, composition of the family and changes in this composition. The mobilization branches record and verify the above data, organize and carry out medical examinations, and provide citizens with the appropriate military documents.

Article 37—In order to supply the armed forces in the event of mobilization for war, the ministries, the other central institutions, the organs of state administration, enterprises, institutions, and political, economic, and social organizations, other legal persons, and private employers are obliged to make available to the mobilization branches and the military units specific objects of real estate and movable property, vehicles, tractors and tractor operators, and other necessary equipment, on the basis of regulations stipulated by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 38—The necessary data, in the understanding of Article 35 of this law, are, in particular:

—information on departures from work and residential centers within and outside the district or outside the country, changes which citizens undergo in physical-health capacity and educational level, sentences, deaths, and other data of this type.

—changes in data on draught animals and information on the technical readiness of vehicles and tractors.

—the creation of state or private enterprises, various institutions, and work centers and the cessation of their activity.

Article 39—Municipalities and communes notify citizens in the reserves in regard to military exercises and combat-readiness tests and musters in accordance with requests made by the commands of units and mobilization branches.

Article 40—When citizens who are subject to reserve military service, change their place of residence, their place of employment, when they become physically unfit for military service, when they are preparing to leave the country for a long period of time, when they are returning from abroad, and when they are released from active military service, they are obliged to present themselves within 10 days to the mobilization branch and the section where they are registered to make changes in the record.

Article 41—Ministries, other central institutions, organs of local government, enterprises and other institutions, political and socioeconomic organizations, other legal persons, and private employers must not employ workers who are subject to active and reserve military service without first making changes in the military records.

Article 42—Citizens who are called up for military service, for exercises, for readiness tests and mobilization, when this is a form of military training, and for inspection and registration in the military records, must present themselves immediately at the specified time and place.

Article 43—Directors of ministries and of other central institutions and bodies, organs of local government, enterprises and other institutions, political and socioeconomic organizations, other legal persons, and private employers must not prevent citizens from performing military service, from participating in exercises, or readiness tests or mobilization, when this is a form of military training. It is prohibited to keep on the job or to hire citizens who are called up to carry out the aforementioned obligations.

Article 44—All citizens who are listed in the military records must have on their person military credentials and personal identification during training mustering tests, active military service, and activities in the mobilization branches. The mobilization branch should be notified if these documents are damaged or lost and the branch will provide new ones for a fee.

Article 45—The failure of an Albanian citizen to register or to make the necessary changes in the military records results in a fine of from 1,000 to 25,000 leks [L] the first time it occurs. The failure of an Albanian citizen to respond to the call to perform compulsory active military service results in a fine of L1,000 a day for each day on which he does not appear for duty and, after 15 days, he is given a penal sentence. The failure of an Albanian citizen to respond to the call to military service or to tests of readiness and of mobilization results in a fine of L10,000 to L25,000 the first time it occurs. Other violations stipulated in this law are punished with a fine of from L5,000 to L50,000. In all cases, the fine is levied by the head of the mobilization branch. The amount of the fine specified in this article is changed by decision of the Council of Ministers, depending on inflation and changes in the standard of living. Appeals against the decision to levy a fine and the collection of

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fines are carried out in accordance with the regulations stated in the law "On Administrative Contraventions." Some 80 percent of the money collected in fines goes to the Ministry of Defense and 20 percent goes into the budget of the local government.

CHAPTER V

SUPPLYING MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES FOR THE ARMED FORCES

AND SOME WAGE AND COMPENSATION RIGHTS OF THE MILITARY

Article 46—The material and financial resources for carrying out the tasks of protecting the country and for executing military service are supplied from the state budget. The amount of the defense budget is set by the People's Assembly, on the basis of the recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The criteria for the use of the funds and the appropriate competences are stipulated by provisions of the Council of Ministers and are monitored by the Permanent Commission for Defense, Public Order, and the National Intelligence Service of the People's Assembly.

Article 47—The supplying of material and financial resources for families of citizens called to military service during wartime is regulated by provisions of the Council of Ministers. Expenses for wages, clothing, food, etc. for citizens who are called to active and reserve military service during peacetime or wartime are taken care of by military units and formations.

Article 48—The soldier enjoys a special status. The status of the soldier is regulated by a special law.

Article 49—Soldiers and military school pupils and students wearing uniforms travel free on all types of public transportation within the country.

Article 50—In special cases, for very good results in exercises and combat readiness, and in the protection and administration of property, and when especially dangerous and difficult assignments are carried out, active duty military are given compensation amounting up to 6(six) months pay a year, with the approval of the minister. Cadets and students in military schools and soldiers are given compensation equivalent to 3(three) base wages for the lowest level for officers [as published]. Former military men who have retired or who, for various reasons, have gone into the reserves, ahead of schedule, from the structures of the armed forces, receive compensation for the position which they hold when they are reactivated to resolve various problems. In the case of a natural disaster, death, or a long and serious illness, officers and NCO's on temporary active service are given immediate assistance amounting to 3(three) months' pay and dependent family members are given up to 1(one) month's pay. Soldiers performing compulsory service, pupils, cadets, students of military schools, and reservists (during the time of their training) are given immediate assistance equivalent to 6(six) months' pay for the lowest level for officers, in the event of their death. When a military man loses his life or becomes incapacitated in the course of duty, his family members receive a family pension amounting to 100 percent of the monthly wage for the last calendar month of service, independent of the deceased's period of insurance. When, because of limited capabilities, a military man is assigned to a lower-paying position or duty, he receives the monthly wage which he had been receiving until he regains his capability. The amount of the immediate compensation and assistance is set and given by order of the official of the military unit, institution, and enterprise to which he is attached or where he has had military service.

CHAPTER VI

DISCIPLINE, UNIFORMS, INTERNAL LIFE, AND GUARD SERVICE IN THE ARMED FORCES

CONCEPTS

Article 51—a) Military discipline is the basis of the armed forces. All subordinate and superior military men are obliged to observe, without discussion, the Constitution, the laws, military regulations, and orders on a hierarchical basis. Disciplinary, administrative, or penal measures are taken in the case of violations of military discipline. Detailed directives on military discipline and on moral and material incentives, types of disciplinary measures, competences of commands in taking these measures, and appeals and reports are presented in the appropriate basic regulations.

b) The "chief" is the person in authority who has the right to give an order to his subordinates.

c) The "superior" is the higher-ranking military man. He is the authority who gives orders to subordinates on disciplinary matters.

ch) A "subordinate" is the the lower-ranking person.

d) The "commander" is the person who commands strategic and operational formations, and tactical formations, units, and subunits for military and administrative support.

e) An "authority" is the person who has the right to use the power which the law has given him.

ee) The "order" is the exercise of authority which is given for carrying out duties.

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f) "Command" is the exercise of authority given by the law on the basis of levels, from the lowest subunit and formation to the highest units.

g) "Direction" and "control" are the organized activities of commanders in the utilization of units and formations within the command structure.

gj) A "measure" is the exercise of authority by superiors in accordance with the law, decisions, and orders for perserving the continuity of discipline.

h) An "incentive" is a form of compensation which is given to a person for good results in executing duties.

i) The "uniform" is the clothing which is worn which is in accordance with the models approved in the regulations and albums on the dress in the Armed Forces for military and civilian personnel. Each member of the military is obliged to keep in good condition and to wear a uniform which is in accordance with specified models; otherwise, material or penal disciplinary measures are applied.

LIFE IN THE ARMED FORCES

Article 52—The life and activity of the armed forces are organized, directed, and developed on the basis of laws, documents with the force of law, military regulations, orders, and instructions.

THE GUARD SERVICE

Article 53—The guard service is organized to protect the lives of individuals and military property from hostile activity and from events and factors which have negative consequences. It is based on the exact implementation of laws, documents with the force of law, regulations, orders, and instructions.

CHAPTER VII

Article 54—All military are equal before the law, regardless of rank and function.

DISCIPLINARY COMMISSIONS

Article 55—Disciplinary commissions are created for the purpose of exercising discipline in the garrison in which this commission is organized.

Article 56—Disciplinary commissions are organized at the batallion (group) level and, when necessary, at the brigade level.

Article 57—In each garrison (brigade, batallion), the disciplinary commissions which are created are composed of 3 (three) persons, one of whom is the chairman. These members are officers of the unit and it is not essential for them to have completed juridical higher education.

Article 58—A discipline officer is designated in each garrison (brigade or batallion). The duty of this officer is to collect and compile the necessary documents and to send them to the disciplinary commission.

Article 59—The discipline officer is also the adviser in the disciplinary judgements of the commander.

Article 60—The discipline officer serves as a prosecutor in the disciplinary commission.

Article 61—The cases which the disciplinary commission will judge are those which are designated in this law and in the regulations on discipline.

Article 62—The disciplinary commission has the power to hand down a sentence of up to one month of disciplinary measures.

Article 63—The decision of the disciplinary commissions become final with the approval of the commander of the units in which this commission is organized and this decision cannot be appealed after it is appproved.

Article 64—In the case of soldiers and noncommissioned officers serving compulsory military duty who are sentenced by the disciplinary commission, the disciplinary measures are not calculated in the length of military service.

Article 65—Attached to this law is a table which presents the limits of the disciplinary measures which superiors have a right to take, directly, when they deem it necessary.

Article 66—Before he takes a disciplinary measure in regard to a military man, a commander is obliged to receive a written defense from the person and then to give the person, in writing, the order to be subject to the disciplinary measure.

Article 67—A military man who is subjected to one of the measures stipulated in the respective table has the right to complain in writing to the immediate commander of the person who has taken the measure. The decision of the commander is final.

CHAPTER VIII

FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 68—The minister of defense, the minister of interior and the chairman of the National Intelligence Agency issue regulation or orders and instructions for the implementation of this law.

Article 69—Law No. 7529, of 11 December 1991 "On Military Service in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania" is repealed, with the exception of articles 24/a and 24/b. All legal decrees and documents with the

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force of law which are in conflict with this law are also invalid.

Article 70—This law goes into effect 15 days after its publication in FLETORJA ZYRTARE.

Proclaimed by Decree No. 1179, of 8 August 1995, of the President of the Republic of Albania, Sali Berisha.

Gjinushi Attacks PD at Socialist International

AU1112103095 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 8 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by P. Re.: "Gjinushi in Brussels: 'There Is No Right Wing in Albania'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"Albania needs the help of the Socialist International," said Social Democratic Party [PSD] leader Skender Gjinushi at the meeting of the Council of the Socialist International, which began in the Belgian capital yesterday. Gjinushi said in front of delegates from all over Europe that "the former communist countries need social democracy more than any others," and that in these countries in particular "it is difficult for people's political and electoral tendencies to swing to the right." The PSD leader's speech was sent home and confirmed by the party's spokesman. Gjinushi said that our region's economic backwardness requires a special economic policy from the EU. The PSD chairman used the opportunity to attack the Albanian Democratic Party [PD] once again, this time from the platform of the Socialist International. "The present state that the PD represents resorts to totalitarian practices," Gjinushi announced. But on what did the Social Democratic leader base his accusation? According to him, the old system has manifested itself again in two ways, in a tendency to rein in the reforms or an inability to manage them, and in its use of old forms and methods of government. Gjinushi said that the first phenomenon is more likely to occur among former communist parties and among conservative and nostalgic sections of the population, while the PSD leader considered the latter to be more evident among individuals and parties regardless of their political allegiances, whether left or right. To justify his accusation, Gjinushi said that "Right-wing forces in Albania are visibly using the old forms and methods of government, which are characteristic of totalitarian rule and of one-party states." The PSD leader illustrated his claim in front of the European Socialists by talking about the Law on Genocide approved by the Albanian People's Assembly a few weeks ago.

Trade Balance Deficit Continues for Jul-Sep

AU1212150995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 10 Dec 95 p 15

[Report by M. Baka: "Trade Balance Remains in the Red"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The balance of trade, a country's most important economic indicator, remains in the red for the third quarter, with a deficit of 7.9 billi[illegible]s [L], compared with L9.9 billion three months p[illegible]iously. Exports indeed rose by 11 percent, but compared with the volume of imports remain very low. In the third quarter of this year, the value of exports reached L5,195 million, compared with imports of L14,094 million. The bulk of these imports consisted of food and machinery. An analysis of imports in September 1995 shows it to have been L4,964.7 million [figure as published] or 34.7 percent higher than in August 1995 and 15.8 percent higher than in September 1994. It is therefore evident that high import figures will be recorded this year, resulting in a negative trade balance. This means that foreign currency will be spent on opening the gates to food imports. Even though Albanian farmers are gradually taking the upper hand in agriculture and dairy production, they not only do not export, but feel the lack of delivery, transportation, and processing facilities. The import of hundreds of tonnes of fruit at a cost of millions of dollars shows that Albanian farmers remain subject to the competition of foreign markets, which are squeezing them and presenting them with hard choices.

Industries Fail To Utilize 'Production Capacity'

AU1212151995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 10 Dec 95 p 15

[Report by B. Gjipeja: "Food Industry Still Stagnant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recent figures from the Statistics Institute provide accurate data about the very slow growth rate of Albanian industry. The index of industrial production has in the third quarter reverted to a lower figure of 71.9 percent (although about 33 percent higher than in 1994). Apart from the two branches of electrical energy and metallurgy, all sectors of industry in the third quarter of 1995 achieved between 30 percent and 90 percent production, testifying to a failure to exploit existing production capacity. During the third quarter, production of phosphate fertilizers began, but the chemical industry remained at a production rate of 32 percent. Mine production has still not reached triple figures, but has done better than the 32 percent production of the food industry, 35.2 percent in the clothing industry, and 32 percent in shoe leather. At a time when special attention is being paid to the progress of privatization, official sources mention with delight the fact

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that Albania is one of the foremost countries for its proportion of GNP coming from the private sector. While agricultural production is increasing, the food industry is not responding with processing capacity, leaving the market open to a flood of imported food.

Institute Publishes Employment Statistics Handbook

AU1212151595 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 10 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by "B.P.": "Albania in the Statistics of Transition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The statistics institute Instat has published the handbook "The Albanian Labor Market in Transition." This is the first publication of its kind in Albania, and contains detailed data about workers, employment, unemployment, and pay. The figures in this handbook are taken from essential figures recorded in the last 10 years in Albania. The most noticeable changes occurred during the period when the dictatorship was dying and democracy was in its birth pangs. This inevitably difficult transition for Albania was accompanied by a great deal of social distress in both employment and living standards. The labor force in Albania shrank significantly because it was faced with hitherto entirely unfamiliar phenomena. The population of working age in Albania is now 1,780,000 or about 100,000 less than in 1989. The labor force in Albania in 1995 includes 1,420,000 people, of whom only 1,160,000 are considered as employed, while the remainder are job seekers. The most painful aspect of Albanian society is the number of invalids of working age, which has risen to 23,138 or 12 percent more than in 1989.

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Commentator Views Obstacles to Joining NATO

AU1112210095 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 95 p 7

[Commentary by Vasil Popov: "NATO Membership Will Remain for a Long Time an Unattainable Goal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There is a National Assembly member who does not let a day pass by without stamping his foot and crying loudly "I want NATO!" We already know by heart the tirade about the bad Bulgarian Socialist Party, which mostly prevents it from getting the shiny toy it covets. If the National Assembly member in question, whose party boasts the adjective "democratic" in its name, really is a doctor, he could alone pronounce his own diagnosis and head for the madhouse, where they take care of cases like his. Perhaps somebody should explain to him that Bulgaria perhaps will join NATO when Nubia does.

For the time being, even NATO itself does not know how its expansion eastward will take place. However, some of the prerequisites for accepting new members are known, and they are not going to change. In an article he published in August 1995 in the Book Review section of the NEW YORK TIMES, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott described the three basic reasons for expanding NATO. The article points out some of the membership prerequisites—a list that is far from being a complete one—one of which is that the potential candidate member should have a professional army.

The new Army Bill our parliament is in the process of adopting at the second reading clearly allows for the possibility of creating an army of the mixed type—after the adoption of the bill. In addition to the regular recruit units, it will be possible to form units of professional soldiers, who will have contracts. Moreover, the possibility exists of completely advancing toward having a professional army. However, experts assess that the means that are needed for this turn the whole thing into a very remote possibility in the distant future. Nevertheless, this is not the point. Some real NATO members do not have a professional army even today. In addition, the German General Staff is categorically opposed to total professionalization.

Let us ignore various questions posed by NATO and other guests who visit our country, like, for example, the one about why we wanted to join first the EU and not NATO. Again we must say that this is not the point. Recently, someone in the West said that the EU will admit the East European states if, before that, they have joined NATO. However, the Atlantic bloc will admit only EU members. By the same token, in the past if someone wanted to obtain a residence permit in Sofia he had to provide, in addition to many other documents, a document that proved that he had an apartment in Sofia. However, to get an apartment in Sofia, one had to have a residence permit.

Another question is whether the new Army bill guarantees that there will be no collisions between the defense minister and the chief of the General Staff. As if other states could provide such a guarantee. In Greece there were unsurmountable contradictions between the holders of the two posts, and one of them had to go. In Belgium, where the minister and the General Staff chief disagreed on the issue of Army cuts, they presented their positions in a civilized manner in parliament, after which both resigned. However, when Bulgaria is considered, even a concocted scandal is fanned up and presented as an obstacle of a decisive character. Naturally, there are people in our country who willingly join the choir.

Let us look only at the requirement regarding the uniformity of weapons with those used by NATO. Let us ignore for a moment the question of where we could find the money for this. The more acute question would be why we should throw away the Kalashnikov automatic rifle, when NATO itself admits that it is better than the M-16 or any other similar weapon of this type in the world. In addition, we produce it ourselves. Or let us consider the recent modification of our MiG aircraft, which we carried out ourselves. If we are partners, why could we not persuade NATO to adopt the Kalashnikov automatic rifles and let us produce them for all NATO armies?

Naturally, there is a fundamental issue: Should we run toward the bloc that is coming alone to us, and indeed is already here? It entered the territory of our neighbors with its bomb strikes and 60,000-strong army. Oh yes, we know that they came in order to protect the peace. At a special seminar held at the Boyana Residence, NATO strategists and prognosticators warned about future hotbeds in which they will have to establish order. One of them is a new Balkan war.

Commentary: Lack of Policy on NATO Membership

AU1112204895 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 95 p 3

[Commentary by Nedko Petrov: "They Are Preparing Us for the Role of Moscow Buffer"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is already six months since Madrid gave us its blessing in our quest to join the European security system. The new NATO chief, Xavier

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Solana, proposed to us the Spanish model of NATO membership (a refusal to allow the stationing of foreign troops or nuclear weapons), while our politicians, led by Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov, said that they were prepared to study this model. At present, not the Spanish or the Portuguese or the Greek models of joining a functioning security system are being discussed in Bulgaria. Furthermore, we are the only postcommunist state without a clear position on an issue that is our problem, rather than that of the 16 NATO member states.

The decision to apply for EU membership, which our parliament made recently, is a smokescreen behind which there are most of all the purely economic interests of the current red [Bulgarian Socialist Party—BSP] rulers, without whose blessing such a text would have never been accepted by the National Assembly. And anyone who thinks the postcommunists have turned into real democrats within a single day is making a big mistake. It is clear that Videnov is waiting for millions of dollars in credits from Europe just as the fox was waiting for the raven to drop the cheese. At the same time, he continues to listen to the empty promises of the big brothers in the Kremlin concerning the T-72 tanks, the spare parts for our amortized military aircraft, and many other bluffs. In the final analysis, half of Europe guarantees that it is prepared to accept us into the collective security system called NATO if we take care of our quarrels at home, while the other half of Europe, with the red star on its brow, is holding us by the throat because of its own oil-natural gas-weapons interests in the Balkans. Against this background, NATO's decision to postpone for one year the idea of expanding eastward because of its reluctance to provoke confrontation with Moscow appears to be logical. This in itself turns us into Moscow's buffer in the Balkans, in Europe's backyard.

Lilov's Attack on BSP Cabinet in BBC Interview

AU1212082695 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 8 Dec 95 p 16

[Commentary by Rumyana Strugarova: "The Strategist in Action"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It appears that the static tension that has affected the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] for months now can no longer be dispelled even by the party's consolidation as it makes its preparations to win the president's post. After repeatedly expressing his dissatisfaction with the government at party meetings, in a BBC interview yesterday the BSP's strategist Aleksandur Lilov publicized to the world at large the cabinet's inability to cope with the most important social problems. Such tactics are normally not used by the Socialist leaders so the interview tells us much more than the actual words spoken. Apart from revealing the sharp confrontation between the party clans, which are evidently now seeking a direct clash, the insinuation of the need for immediate changes in the government that Lilov made to a foreign radio station cannot fail to undermine the authority of Videnov and his team abroad. Accordingly, the interview was designed to put a stop to the hesitation shown at BSP headquarters to demand an urgent cabinet shuffle.

The Socialist government is unable or unwilling to tackle corruption, whether or not it involves people at party headquarters, in the cabinet, or in parliament, and the style of administration is one in which ministers become pawns of politically irresponsible people in the Council of Ministers—this is Lilov's latest public assessment, one about which he remained silent at the last party plenum. This plenum was called to examine the tangle of interests surrounding the party newspaper. Incidentally, what better example is there to illustrate the generalization that the press must be allowed "to develop as a plenipotentiary representative of society"? This is a painful topic and one on which Videnov evidently holds a different view.

PRC's Zhu Rongji Views Foreign Trade Relations

AU1112212495 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Dec 95 p 7

[Interview with Zhu Rongji, vice premier of the People's Republic of China, by Ivanka Khlebarova; place and date not given: "In China, Doubts Are Appearing About Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Khlebarova] How do you assess the development of trade and economic cooperation with Russia and the United States?

[Zhu] China and Russia are already important trading partners. In 1993, trade between the two countries reached a value of $7.7 billion, the best figure attained to date. However, in 1994, trade between China and Russia declined sharply, and the goods exchange fell by 33.8 percent as compared with 1993. The main reason for this decline was that the two countries were adjusting their national economies and foreign trade to conform to market economy conditions. New changes occurred in both countries' markets, and the enterprises and foreign trade organizations were unable to adapt to them in a timely way. Both countries are paying great attention to this problem and seeking ways to change the present situation. They are already obtaining good results. Compared with the same period last year, in the first six months of 1995 the exchange of goods between the two countries increased 3-4 percent. We consider

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that the Chinese and Russian economies complement one another. Both countries possess unique geographical advantages, and there are good prospects for their bilateral trade and economic relations.

Since 1979, when China and the United States established diplomatic relations, Chinese-U.S. trade and economic relations have developed rapidly, especially in recent years. In 1994, the bilateral goods exchange was valued at $35.4 billion, whereas during the first half of 1995 it reached $18.35 billion, a 28.4-percent increase over the same period last year. This year, Chinese-U.S. trade will exceed $40 billion in value. Mutual investments are increasing steadily. Enterprises set up in China with American investments are already reporting good profits. It should be pointed out that the Chinese and U.S. economies are mutually complementary. Of course, a number of problems and conflicts do occur. However, we are convinced that, if both countries keep to the principles of seeking the truth on the basis of the facts, equality, and mutual benefit, the problems will be resolved through consultations. No other methods are acceptable.

[Khlebarova] What tasks are you setting yourselves in the trade and economic field as regards the countries of Eastern Europe, especially Bulgaria?

[Zhu] China has longstanding trading and economic relations with the East European countries, including Bulgaria. Because the Chinese and East European markets and goods complement one another to a marked extent, our bilateral trading and economic relations have shown great development during the past 40 years. In 1990, the form of trading between China and the East European countries, including Bulgaria, was changed from the former intergovernmental clearing system to trade in convertible currency. We are sure that through our common efforts the trade between our countries will adapt to this change.

Chinese-Bulgarian trade is showing signs of development, thanks to the two governments and the relevant foreign trade enterprises and organizations. In 1993 the bilateral goods exchange reached $173 million, its highest historical level. In 1994 bilateral trade was valued at $109 million, and there are good prospects for future development. To develop trade and economic relations between China and the East European region, we believe that we should direct our efforts in the following directions:

—We should strengthen the direct links between the competent trade organizations in the two countries and take coordinated steps to develop bilateral economic and trading relations.

—We should encourage direct links between companies and plants in the two countries and expand direct trade and participation in trade fairs, exhibitions, symposia, and so on, with a view to establishing a comparatively stable position for mass-produced goods in our bilateral trade.

—We should develop trade and economic cooperation at multiple levels and through many channels. At the same time, we should introduce trading in convertible currency and expand trade flexibly in different spheres, so as to give a fresh stimulus to our trade and economic relations.

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Army Intelligence on Dangers to Troops in Bosnia

AU1212080695 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by "gig, ajk": "Army Intelligence Is Considering the Risks Threatening the Troops Deployed in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Although there has been almost calm in northwestern Bosnia, where the Czech peace battalion is to operate, since the truce signing in October, the intelligence section of the General Staff is analyzing the possible dangers in the region. An officer who wishes to remain anonymous so as not to jeopardize his position in intelligence, said yesterday that certain risks are connected with the operation of the difficult-to-control volunteer troops that came to Bosnia from Muslim countries.

"These guerrilla units are waging a subversive war and mostly do whatever they feel like," the officer said.

Therefore, the reconnaissance officer believes that the battalion logistic units—that is, communication and medical officers and cooks—could be the most threatened. These units are not protected by the heavy combat hardware.

Army intelligence considers the region of Bosnia between the cities of Mrkonjic Grad, Sipovo, and Kljuc, vanquished by the Bosnian Croat and Muslim units in the summer offensive, to be a very dangerous region. Namely, part of this territory is to be returned to the Bosnian Serbs.

The first units of the battalion of the rapid deployment brigade, those that are expected for the international Joint Endeavor operation, are to leave for the Balkans on 15 January. The dispatch of the battalion, which is to operate under British command, requires approval by the Chamber of Deputies. Two of its committees—the Defense and Security Committee and the Foreign Committee—supported this step yesterday. The deputies should decide today [8 December].

Defense Minister Vilem Holan said yesterday that the month remaining for the selection and training of the troops is sufficient for quality preparation of the unit. In the meantime, about 1,000 volunteers applied to join the Bosnian mission. Minister Holan welcomed the relatively high interest in service in the peace battalion. "It will enable us to select good people," he said.

The placement and tasks of the Czech troops in Bosnia will be subject to the situation in that Balkan country. "So, it could happen that the unit would be sent to the center of tensions regardless of the opinion of Prague," the military intelligence expert said yesterday.

Yugoslav-Czech Trade To Reach $1 Billion

LD1112232295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2312 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Dec. 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic and his Czech counterpart Alexander Vondra said at a meeting here Monday that the two countries could now restore and step up cooperation, especially in economy.

Bulajic, who on Sunday began his three-day official visit to the Czech Republic, said that trade between the two countries could reach one billion dollars next year.

Yugoslavia's new economic program, approved recently, urges a liberalization of trade and opening up to the world market, Bulajic said at the first round of consultations with Vondra.

The Czech deputy foreign minister said that the two sides should re-activate or again sign some basic agreements relating to the protection of investments, the prevention of double taxation and some other questions.

Bulajic on Monday evening informed a group of Czech and Yugoslav economists about the main elements of Yugoslavia's new economic program.

Bulajic said to the Czech economists—who plan to visit Belgrade later this week—that this and the suspension of sanctions against Yugoslavia had removed all obstacles for restoring cooperation between the two countries, which had been fruitful in the past.

Trade Cooperation Agreement Signed With Mongolia

LD1112135395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy and his Mongolian counterpart, Tsevegmidiyn Tsogt, signed a trade agreement today between the Czech Republic and Mongolia. Before initialing the agreement, the two ministers discussed bilateral economic relations. Vladimir Dlouhy said on the occasion:

[Begin Dlouhy recording] Mongolia, too, ranks among the countries in which Czech companies had a very good reputation in the past. In the past, we supplied [Mongolia] with an enormous amount of machinery, equipment, and transportation facilities but also with materially less visible products, such as geological surveys and other similar activities. We are interested in continuing this traditi either by supplying spare parts or new products. [end recording]

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Meciar on Possible Involvement in Bosnia Mission

AU1112140595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Dec 95 pp 1, 13

[Report by special correspondent Ivan Drabek: "Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar Opened Slovak Embassy in Slovenia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana — [Passage omitted] Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar agreed yesterday to personally attend to speeding up the revision of treaties concluded between the former SFRY and CSFR and advocated the earliest possible conclusion of a treaty on preventing double taxation. Vladimir Meciar also proposed the conclusion of interdepartmental treaties in the spheres of economy, agriculture, security, army, culture, and science and education, with which Janez Drnovsek expressed agreement.

The two prime ministers also assessed the situation in the Balkans following the initialing of the Dayton peace accord. Janez Drnovsek declared that Slovenia will not send units to Bosnia (NATO supposedly has not even addressed such a request to Ljubljana), but it has permitted NATO units to use Slovene territory for transit. According to Vladimir Meciar, the Slovak Government has not yet decided whether it will change the status of its sappers' unit that is now in former Yugoslavia within the framework of UN peacekeeping forces. He stressed that, in view of the large Slovak ethnic minority in Vojvodina, the Slovak Republic must deal with the issue of its possible involvement in the new NATO-commanded operation in an exceptionally responsible manner.

The Slovene prime minister also informed Vladimir Meciar about the Slovene-Italian dispute, caused by Rome's demand for the restitution of Italians' property expropriated after the war. Slovenia's association agreement with the EU has been delayed because of this dispute. Vladimir Meciar assured his partner that Slovakia will support the Slovene position at international forums and Slovenia's endeavor to conclude an association agreement with the EU.

Schenk Welcomes NATO Decision on Enlargement

AU1112174295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Dec 95 p 6

[TASR report: "Schenk: NATO Is Not Categorizing Candidates for the Time Being"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels—The important thing for Slovakia is that, in the process of NATO's enlargement, candidate countries with which the alliance will negotiate on admission are not being categorized for the time being, Juraj Schenk, Slovak minister of foreign affairs, told the TASR Brussels correspondent in an interview. The head of Slovak diplomacy welcomed the fact that on 5 December NATO decided to intensify next year individual dialogues with countries wishing to be integrated into the alliance. "They are proceeding in conformity with our ideas," he said, adding that individual dialogue is what Slovakia had been calling for, even in a broader context than the enlargement of NATO.

Schenk views the participation of partner countries, including Slovakia, in the peace operation in Bosnia as advance preparation for the obligations that will follow from their future membership in the alliance and as a step that can accelerate the whole process of enlargement.

Kovac's Office: Investigator's Dismissal Unlawful

AU1212082195 Bratislava SME in Slovak 7 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by "r": "According to the Presidential Office, Investigator Was Taken Off the Case at Variance With the Law"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"According to Articles 4 and 7 of the Law on the Police Corps (PZ), the investigator is procedurally independent and is subordinate to the director of the PZ Office of Investigations only in labor-related legal issues," states the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic in its reply to the argumentation of Jan Kostov, director of the PZ Section for Investigations and Criminal Expert Analyses, who had expressed disagreement with the contents of Michal Kovac's letter to Imrich Andrejcak, chairman of the Parliamentary Defense and Security Affairs Committee, in which the president, among other things, drew attention to the fact that investigators in the Michal Kovac Jr. abduction case were taken off the case by an unauthorized person. The statement by the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic goes on to say that the course of the investigations is exclusively a matter for the investigator and the overseeing prosecutor and not for the director of the Office of Investigations. "The law does not include any possibility for the investigator's supervisory body to take the investigator off the case," the statement by the Office of the President of the Slovak Republic states, pointing out that only the overseeing prosecutor is authorized to take the investigator off the case. This happened only in the case of Major Peter Vacok, but not in the case of Major Simunic, the statement notes in conclusion.

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Carnogursky's Wife Sues Prime Minister

AU1112200695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by "ns": "Marta Carnogurska Files Suit Against Vladimir Meciar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Marta Carnogurska, wife of Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Chairman Jan Carnogursky, filed a libel suit against Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on 6 December. In the suit, lodged with the Bratislava-4 Municipal District Court, she is demanding a public apology from Vladimir Meciar for statements made in the television program Press Club on 5 September. In the program, the prime minister reacted to Jan Carnogursky's interpellation regarding the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr., in which the KDH chairman asked whether the prime minister had been at the border crossing with Austria that night, a few hours after the abduction of the president's son. Meciar denied this and recommended that the opposition politician ask his own wife where the prime minister had been that night. Still in September, the wife of the Christian Democratic leader addressed the prime minister in writing, asking him to apologize for his vulgar comments about her. Meciar did not react to her letter.

Hungarians: Texts of Published, Approved Law Differ

AU1212082595 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Report by Zita Sujova: "Arpad Duka-Zolyomi: Published Text of Language Law Differs From Approved Version"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray persists in his negative view of the law on the state language and is convinced that the wording approved by the Slovak parliament is marked by a fascist spirit. According to Duray, Slovak politicians have been trying for years to establish legal foundations in Slovakia for dividing citizens into first-class citizens—that is, Slovaks—and the others, who are to function as an appendix to the "state-forming nation." Miklos Duray confirmed this idea, which he presented at a news conference in Vienna on 5 December, in an interview for NARODNA OBRODA yesterday. [passage omitted] Duray pointed out that the language law guarantees collective rights for the Slovak majority. When it comes to the Hungarian minority, however, no one wants to even hear about collective rights. Asked whether, in view of these circumstances, he would abstain from voting on the basic treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic, as he recently indicated, Duray replied that this issue was discussed at yesterday's meeting of the Hungarian Coalition's coalition council, but no final decision has been made so far. Members of the Hungarian Coalition will try to proceed in unison, however, and they will definitely not vote against the treaty's ratification. Coexistence Deputy Chairman Arpad Duka-Zolyomi reiterated for NARODNA OBRODA information that he had provided to Hungarian DUNA TV on 5 December, according to which the Coexistence Movement's legal experts found in the published text of the language law approximately 32 differences from the text approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR]. Duka Zolyomi considers one of them particularly serious because it makes it possible to demand that charwomen, for example, demonstrate knowledge of the state language, something that was not approved in parliament. Duka Zolyomi did not rule out that the discrepancies could be intentional, and he wants to turn in this matter to the NRSR's Legislative Department.

Journalists Warn of Foreign Aim To Control Media

AU1112212595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Dec 95 p 2

[TASR report: "Jozef Darmo: The Aim Is To Gain Control Over Media Space"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Political forces have formed an alliance with the former totalitarian press, and this alliance has embarked upon open confrontation with Slovak statehood and its priorities, Slovak sovereignty, the government, and parliament, Jozef Darmo, chairman of the Association of Slovak Journalists (ZSN), told a ZSN conference yesterday. He said that domestic political forces have been working for several months on destabilizing the Slovak Republic. They are trying to prevent the continuation of economic and political stability. "The unconcealed alliance of these so-called independent media structures with the activities of various foreign foundations, committees, and producers of analyses of the media situation in the Slovak Republic is evident. It is apparent that geopolitical interests and gaining control over the media space are at stake," Jozef Darmo said.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 7 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 500-word report by Elena Sebova on the ZSN conference. According to the report, the participants in the conference "agreed on a statement in which they express concern over the confrontational and destructive tone of some of their colleagues from the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists [SSN—the ZSN's rival organization]. Through their ties to various domestic and foreign foundations, they are

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trying to influence the Slovak media and the Slovak and foreign public. The ZSN does not intend to accept this confrontational struggle. With over 1,000 members, the ZSN pursues its own national, civic, and democratic value orientation. The ZSN does not cast doubt on the SSN's legitimacy, but it is convinced that mutual respect and cooperation are the only basis on which it is possible not only to effectively solve the professional interests of the journalistic community, but also to contribute to calming the social atmosphere in Slovakia."]

Army Facing 'Serious' Problem: Lack of Housing

AU1112210595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by TASR: "Apartments for the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—One of the serious problems facing the defense department is securing apartments for career soldiers and civilian employees of the Army of the Slovak Republic. The defense department registers more than 3,000 applications for an apartment. In 1995, over 600 apartments were handed over in the Trencin, Piestany, Presov, Kosice, Nitra, Malacky, and Bratislava garrisons. Of the 308 million Slovak korunas [Sk] worth of capital spending foreseen in the draft budget of the Slovak Ministry of Defense for 1996, over Sk200 million is to be spent on solving the housing situation in the Army of the Slovak Republic.

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Free Elections 'Confirm' Bosnia's Divisions

AU1112180895 Budapest REFORM in Hungarian 8 Dec 95 p 56

[Commentary by Endre Aczel: "To an Election"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is nasty to say this, but it is almost certain that U.S. diplomacy did not leave anything to chance in Bosnia: President Clinton's prestige was at stake. It only entered the "Balkans ring" when:

1. It was already certain that the most dangerous poisonous fang in Serb-Croat relations could be removed and Serbian President Milosevic was ready to return eastern Slavonia in Croatia, which borders Hungary, to the Croatians;

2. The comprehensive ethnic cleansing "work" had been completed in Bosnia, with only Serbs being left in areas to be awarded to the Serbs, only Muslims in the Muslim areas, and Croats in the Croatian area;

3. The U.S. soldiers could indeed be sent to keep the peace, rather than into an insecure situation.

But this includes a major contradiction.

The European powers, acting under UN command, which in the meantime have been accused of political and diplomatic sins, were indeed powerless to stop the direction of development outlined in No. 2. However, this powerlessness did not stem from a lack of will or intention; it stemmed from the fact that the point in this whole damned South Slav war from the beginning was that various ethnic groups (nations) should not live together again. Only separately.

In other words, the rather powerful and even aggressive U.S. attitude, as embodied by Deputy Secretary of State Holbrooke, had a positive coefficient. The Americans started to make peace when the Serbs had been fed (with their 33 percent numerical proportion, they are to occupy 49 percent of the Bosnian state's territory), as had the Croats (they again have the whole Serb Krajina, Knin, western and eastern Slavonia, and even the larger half of western Bosnia!), and the Muslims were left with no choice but to continue to cling onto the Croatian and (financially) the U.S. umbilical cord. In other words, they had to "take it lying down," as necessary, as was required of them.

As a result of the deal, as is also suggested by elementary logic, only the Muslims, who make up about half of the Bosnian population, can have ill feelings, and for two reasons.

All along, they expected America to implement the policy of "lift and strike" in Bosnia; in other words, to end the arms embargo against the Muslims and, at the same time, stop the Serb aggression (with air attacks). The first half of these hopes did not come true, though the the second did, which, although bringing a turn in the course of the war, overall was not enough because the Muslim government army was unable to turn its slowly emerging military dominance into a full offensive and liberate those Bosnian regions that had been occupied by Serbs.

It adds salt to the wound that, owing to their mother country and its hinterland, the Croats have had and will have continuous superiority in the Federation prescribed by the Dayton agreement for the Muslims. The vast majority of the areas reoccupied from the Serbs have been taken by the Croats, rather than by the Muslims; the military administration that has so far operated has shown a complete lack of interest in the attempts of Muslims who were chased out by the Serbs to return to their homes. The Croats have settled in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a way that far exceeds their numerical proportion.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the foreseeable future, elections will be held under the notion of peaceful and democratic conciliation. I would not now like to deal with how the separation of troops will function, how efficient NATO will be in punishing those who violate the cease-fire, whether the Serbs will be given access to the sea, how the Brcko corridor connecting the eastern and western halves of the Bosnian Serb republic will function, and so on. I only wish to deal with one issue, namely, what kind of democracy can be established in a Bosnia-Herzegovina that is united in name but is actually divided into a Serb and a Bosnian-Croat area.

My answer is that no kind of democracy can be established, supposing that, apart from myself, many others also believe that democracy cannot be run on an ethnic basis.

Free elections were held in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1990, before the war. If you like, these sowed the seeds of the later disintegration and war. The reason is that the new political parties set up after the dissolution of the Yugoslav communist federation primarily organized themselves on an ethnic basis. The campaign was also conducted in such a way that the Serbian Democratic Party with its red, white, and blue colors and slogans were diplayed in Serb areas, the green crescent moon of the Party of Democratic Action was displayed in Muslim areas, and the sahovnica, the checkerboard flag of the Croatian Democratic Community was displayed in areas inhabited by Croats. They were all present in most settlements because, as they say, Bosnia-Herzegovina is like a leopard skin. Even then it could already be suspected that, if Serbs and Croats outside the

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borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina went against each other, then the same would happen inside the country. The old accounts, prejudices, and even blood feuds would be brought back, even though people in this area have peacefully coexisted for decades. It was to be suspected that bloody reprisals from World War II were coming.

As a matter of fact, they did arrive. Now, can anyone believe that, once the Bosnian ethnic groups had already proven before the war that they would vote on an ethnic rather than a political basis, then now, after the war, they would pull out their political principles? Impossible. Even if they had such things, they would not know what to do with them because the Bosnian political parties still do not have a political, only an ethnic image. The socialist, conservative, liberal division does not exist, only the "dictates of the blood" function.

Consequently, if they have to vote, the Serbs will vote for a Serb party, Croats for a Croatian party, and Muslims for a Muslim party. In other words, the originally mixed mass of people, to which nationalism has done the most harm, will again be strengthened in their separatism. Free and democratic elections will only serve to confirm forever the dividing lines that had formed between the ethnic components of Bosnia and were petrified by the war years. This way, the notion of a united Bosnian state will turn into fiction for good.

Army Commander on Possible Permanent NATO Base

LD1112131295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 11 Dec 95

[Interview with Major General Dr. Jozsef Hollo, deputy commander of the Hungarian army, by unidentified announcer; place not given—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Major General, we can hear allegations from southwest Hungary that the Americans have been settling down, buying houses, and refurbishing barracks to a comfortable level. This makes one think that after a year they will not leave. I had better ask: Is it possible that Kaposvar or Taszar will become a NATO base?

[Hollo] I think this has not been raised so far, and it is not on the agenda. However, nothing can be ruled out, although this is only my private opinion. The permission for stationing the troops indeed expires on 31 December 1996. The same applies to the Hungarian technical squad, which was given a mandate by the Hungarian parliament until 31 December 1996. A special series of decisions, a special series of talks will be necessary for this [establishment of a NATO base], because we are still far from NATO.

Official Discusses Foreign Image, Policy Issues

AU1212122795 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Dec 95 p 10

[Interview with Ferenc Somogyi, administrative state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "Our Participation Is a Basic Interest"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pinter] Either in parliament or elsewhere, have any political statements been made that damaged Hungary's foreign policy interests?

[Somogyi] Yes, some statements have been made, mainly regarding our relations with the neighboring countries, which did not help our foreign policy that is serving our national interests. However, I hope that, in spite of the undoubted negative effects, these statements will not cause irreparable damage. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] How do you react to the ever louder concern that the consensus of parliamentary parties on the country's foreign policy is breaking up?

[Somogyi] It would be a problem if the consensus on the basic issues ceased to exist because the main goals of our foreign policy—Hungary's euro-atlantic integration, the development of cooperation with our neighbors and the countries of our region, and helping to improve the fate of Hungarians living beyond the border—form a unit that, in the given circumstances, is the only rational formulation of our true long-term interests and, in fact, the third task mentioned is also a constitutional obligation of the government of the day. I cannot see any danger that this kind of consensus may be breaking up. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] What is the essence of the current government's stance?

[Somogyi] The current course is more balanced, pragmatic, and target-oriented. The current foreign policy philosophy considers all three targets to be equally important and, recognizing the mutual connections, treats them in unity. However, it considers the aforementioned order to be most misleading from the viewpoint of implementing the goals in practice. Rather than the fact that good-neighborly relations are a basic condition for our EU or NATO membership, the reason is that our integration, the region's countries' progress in integration, and the expansion and deepening of cooperation with our neighbors can also establish the necessary conditions for settling the situation of the national minorities.

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[Pinter] What does this mean in practice?

[Somogyi] Today, the government believes that the minimum of the Hungarian national minorities' justified demands, namely, laying down the principles and norms formulated in European and other international documents as concrete rights and ensuring their implementation, can be the maximum realistically achievable goal at the moment. We signed the Basic Treaty with Slovakia on this basis, and we can only sign the planned basic treaty with Romania or handle President Iliescu's initiative on historic conciliation on this basis.

[Pinter] Do you think that the Slovak example is conclusive?

[Somogyi] I know very well that, in itself, the signing of a basic treaty does not solve the problems, although, in my view, it can make an important contribution to it, it can be a point of reference. It will only be possible to see the actual effect and the conclusive nature of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty after its ratification, in the course of its implementation. However, I would not underestimate the cooperation efforts expressed by signing a document like this, just as the unfavorable developments in the period since the signing cannot be ignored, either. My view is that it is needed to have dialogue, to understand the situation and views of the partner, and to have a willingness for compromise. At the same time, it is essential for the sides to conduct the talks by truly striving for an agreement and for the treaty to be made with the honest intention of implementing its contents. It is necessary—and my Romanian partner agreed with this at our latest consultation—for these intentions to be proved with concrete practical steps already during the talks, to sort of promote the success of the talks. I am also convinced that the lack of such steps, and especially measures brought that are contrary to the spirit of cooperation or which bring even worse conditions than the current ones, actually undermine the credibility of the talks and can ultimately make them meaningless. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] A good many representatives of Hungarian organizations over the border are worried about a bad historic bargain. They are worried that Budapest will fit into an international accord and Hungary will sacrifice the justified interests of minority Hungarians for its euro-atlantic integration. How justified are these worries?

[Somogyi] It is not difficult to imagine what it is like to live in a minority, and I find it natural that fears grow high amidst frequent afflictions. However, I do not accept the opinion—which can be heard on both sides of the border—that the Hungarian Government is sacrificing the interests of Hungarians beyond the border on the altar of euro-atlantic integration. I even find the way the issue is raised to be improper because our Hungarianness can only be interpreted in connection with our Europeanness. I have already indicated that if a solution does exist for the minority problems, then this can only be integration. This demands that the countries hoping for membership identify fully with the principles and norms of the euro-atlantic system of values in their way of thinking and actions and that they give up, for example, the aggressive efforts to establish a homogeneous nation state. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] The integration organizations presumably take political considerations into account to differing levels when they decide on membership. According to most views, NATO will make an explicitly political decision on which countries to accept as members. How important is Hungary for NATO?

[Somogyi] I agree with the view that in NATO's expansion, compared to the European Union, the political element will play a bigger role. NATO membership is a broad security policy and political issue, rather than a narrow military and strategic issue. This is decisive from Hungary's point of view. Nevertheless, it is also a fact that the preparedness of the candidates and their ability to contribute to NATO's activities will be essential when the decision is made. The current world political situation is completely different from the situation when the former new NATO members were admitted, when the conditions almost forced the admission of certain countries. No such exigency exists now. Today, the cost of security guarantees is the acceptance of the full range of commitments, and the willingness and ability to cooperate motivated by the commonness of values and, based on this, the interests. In this approach, Hungary is important for NATO and NATO is important for Hungary.

[Pinter] How far has Hungary progressed in the preparations?

[Somogyi] It is my personal impression that the NATO member states all have a good opinion of our performance so far, our active and constructive role in the Peace Partnership program. Although no one will officially put it in writing, NATO considers Hungary to have a chance of becoming a member in the first wave.

[Pinter] To what extent does our active role in the Yugoslav peacemaking help our quicker access to membership?

[Somogyi] Our participation can strongly promote the cause of our membership and it can prove that Hungary is able to cooperate efficiently with its future allies in real actions and not only in simulation exercises.

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Actually, all this already has important precedents, for example, our participation in the Gulf War and the activities of the AWACS planes in Hungary's airspace. [passage omitted]

Romania Responds to Letter on Zetea Hungarians

LD1112213395 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Transylvanian Society of the World Federation of Hungarians wrote a letter to Romanian President Ion Iliescu on the matter of the Hungarians of Zetea [Zetelaka] upon whom an unjust sentence was imposed after the events of December 1989. Today a reply arrived from the President's Office. [Correspondent Tibor Bogdan] The president continues to distance himself from the case, forgetting the fact that other actions committed in the heat of the revolution were granted a presidential pardon. The Hungarians of Zetea were sentenced to five years imprisonment in their absence for ravaging a police station, damaging public property and, what is more, for burning a flag of the Communist Party. However, those who shot the Bucharest Royal Palace into pieces and set fire to the University Library, which housed invaluable treasures, were pronounced not guilty.

The reply read the Ministry of Justice was dealing with the case in line with the legal procedures in effect.

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Zubak Addresses Federal Assembly on Federation

AU1112204095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 11 December 95

[Speech by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia- Herzegovina, in the Federal Assembly in Sarajevo on 11 December — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed guests and respected deputies, in deciding today, according to this point of the agenda, on the agreement to strengthen the Federation that was signed in Dayton on 10 November this year by the most responsible representatives of the Bosniak Muslim and Croatian peoples, we are today testing and checking once again our political will that we had expressed 20 months ago by accepting the Washington agreement on building the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

To remind you briefly, by accepting the Washington agreement, we stopped the senseless war between our peoples and decided to live together in the same state community proceeding from the fact that, to accomplish national rights, one does not have to have his own national state. Similarly, we have decided that this state community has such organization of authorities and mechanisms for the functioning of these authorities to preclude majoritarianism — the imposition of the decisions of the majority nation on the less numerous nation — in this case, the Croatian people.

As I have said, 20 months have since passed. Apart from the many positive results in the implementation of the Federation project that should not be neglected, we have jointly concluded that the process of developing the Federation is not moving at the desired pace. Never questioning the project of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina itself, we, because of the many issues that have not been regulated by the Federation Constitution, or have been insufficiently regulated, or have been regulated in such a way that they have given room for different interpretations, have held many talks, or rather negotiations, on the implementation of the Federation Constitution and the agreements that have not yet yielded full results.

To overcome this situation, in one of our agreements, in Munich, we agreed to use the services of a mediator and arbiter from friendly countries and sponsors of the Federation project. They have invested significant efforts in resolving satisfactorily the many issues upon which we could not agree.

However, there are still some very important issues and these have now been regulated with this agreement. These stem from the fact that we could not fully explain the relationship between the authorities of the Republic, the Federation, and Herzeg-Bosnia. As is already known, to solve these issues, we have reached several agreements. Among these are those from Petersburg and Mostar. And yet the process has not been moving with the speed envisaged or within the deadlines envisaged.

After that, we had many meetings and discussions between the representatives of the two largest parties in parliament, the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At one session of the Constituent Assembly, we had a very frank and at times polemic discussion on this. We then launched the idea of solving these contentious issues by separating the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the institutional, organizational, and personnel sense.

This idea was not accepted immediately, but in our subsequent talks in Split, Jablanica, Fojnica, and Madrid we finally arrived at the joint stance that this was necessary. We finalized everything that we had agreed at these crucial meetings in Split and other places in the agreement signed in Dayton.

We have discussed all these issues on several occasions, even in smaller groups, smaller teams, as well as in parliament. I do not think that it is necessary now to go into some of the provisions of that agreement. The agreement is very clear. The deadlines that have been set are also very clear and short. Therefore, we should today decide to accept the agreement so as to give the time and opportunities to the expert groups and parliament to make the appropriate changes by 20 December, that is, to adjust the constitutional provisions to the agreement that we have signed, and so as to pass the appropriate laws that represent the preconditions for establishing the most essential section of the authorities in charge of the implementation of the Federation, which is the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In this context, I appeal to you to accept this agreement. Thank you. [applause]

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Silajdzic Addresses Assembly on Peace Accord

AU1112215895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 11 Dec 95

[Speech by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic to the Federal Assembly in Sarajevo on 11 December — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Chairman, respected deputies, the Constituent Assembly of the Federation is today debating the package of agreements concluded in Dayton. The Federation Assembly faces decisions that could be of far-reaching and crucial importance.

The peace project (?accepted) in Dayton is not just a product of the 20 days that we spent there. Its genesis is considerably longer. I would say that it started the moment the idea about a federation was born, when we concluded the Washington agreements, when we started the process that has significantly influenced the course of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a process that ultimately resulted in the Dayton agreement.

Although we are all inclined to speak fairly critically about the effects of the implementation of the federal project so far, saying that it is moving rather slowly and is encountering many difficulties, one should nevertheless objectively conclude that the fact that we are today about to conclude the final peace agreement, that we are about to sign the agreement, has been facilitated above all by the creation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The conflict between the Bosniaks and Croats was ended with the very conclusion of the Washington agreement, a dispute that could have been disastrous for the survival of both peoples and Bosnia-Herzegovina, too. With the further consolidation of relations, we have overcome the strategic advantage of the [Serb] aggressor. This has finally facilitated the liberation of large parts of our country through coordinated military actions.

Positive effects were also achieved in other spheres. Shortly before the conclusion of the Washington agreements, as prime minister-designate, I formed the government whose program was called the Program for the Survival of the Population. At that time, hunger reigned in most of the free parts. There was an almost total shortage of everything that was needed for living and even for defense. The roads were virtually unusable and economic activity had reached zero. All of us remember this.

The setting up of the Federation created conditions for a radical turnabout. Instead of hunger and shortages, we have a satisfactory availability of the basic necessities in almost all parts of Federation. Prices are stable and market conditions are showing a continuous positive trend. The roads have reopened and are fairly safe for war conditions. The roadblocks on Federation territory have been partly removed. The transport of passengers and goods is moving intensively.

In the first six months of this year alone, over 5 million passengers have travelled along the public roads in the Federation, over 200,000 metric tons of goods have been transported. This is a concrete illustration of the implementation of the principles of the freedom of movement of people and goods, which, despite the war conditions, is increasingly being affirmed in the Federation.

Communication links have also been restored to the telephones in almost all parts of the Federation, which is also contributing to integration.

The energy situation has also been consolidated. In the first half of this year on Federation territory we have generated about 1,000 gigawatts of power, 1,100 gigawatts. We have created the conditions to start and gradually to increase almost all economic activity, including production. Positive effects have also been achieved in agriculture. In the Federation, over 30 percent more land has been sown than last year. The domestic food production represents a significant part in meeting the Federation's needs. Positive shifts in the economic and political spheres have made it possible for the Government of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to establish and develop intensive relations with international financial institutions, especially with the World Bank and the IMF.

World Bank and IMF delegations, together with experts teams, have been visiting our country since 22 October this year. Three topics dominate their talks: The first is the membership of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the IMF. It is most certain that this will happen soon. After we become a member of the IMF, a program for Bosnia-Herzegovina, an IMF program for Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be determined within a short period. This will open the door to us to negotiate our debts with our creditors, especially the Paris Club.

The second very important topic is renewal and reconstruction. The government has prepared a preliminary plan for the needs in this sphere as a kind of platform for negotiations. World Bank experts have established that the urgent intervention of about $4 billion is necessary for the infrastructure, education, health service, and industry in the Federation, and another $1 billion for the other entity. A donors' conference (?will be held soon) and we expect a successful outcome.

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Finally, talks are also being held on ways to reform the macroeconomic system of the country, especially on privatization and the reform of the banking system and the entire financial system of the country.

I would like to take this opportunity to quote the view in a document of the World Bank, which says literally that despite the war, not only is there economic activity in the free parts, but a fairly successful stabilization of the macroeconomic system has been under way since August 1994 and there was a significant recovery of the economy in the first six months of 1995. What is more, the government is in the process of actively planning a legislative and institutional framework and the economic policy of the country. With the good quality human capital and with the correctly [word indistinct] directed policy, Bosnia-Herzegovina can develop from the war ruins and can become an economically (?successful) country, end quote.

According to the assessments of the EU and the IMF, as well as the U.S. Treasury Department, the government has achieved economic results that exceed what was expected, considering the circumstances in which it had been working. A detailed report about this has been submitted to the Assembly. Considering that the government has been working in an open manner, the public at large is also acquainted with the government's activities and their effects.

I am giving this assessment and information here in detail so that I can argument the benefits and the advantages that would not be possible without the Federation project. Of course, there has been and still is resistance and obstructions that are slowing down the implementation of the Federation. There are also objective reasons why this is not going along with the desired speed, since this is a project that requires time and much effort and energy even in peacetime. The construction of a completely new system in wartime and in very complex political relations is no easy task. Still, with all the difficulties, the Federation has not only survived as an idea, but has also become a reality, whose positive effects are increasingly felt by everyone in the area. What is particularly important is that it has become a realistic basis for the establishment of peace in Bosnia-erzegovina.

There are many reasons to believe that with the Dayton agreement the Federation gets full affirmation, thus removing all the suspicions that our friends have had and discouraging those who have been wishing for the collapse of the federal project. The agreement on the [word indistinct] of 9 November sets out a series of moves, deadlines, and obligations that have to be met for the Federation to be implemented to its full capacity. To do this properly, the government has tried to fulfill its part of the task correctly and, after several days of continuous discussion, by 10 December — which is within the deadline — it presented the draft laws to the Constituent Assembly on the Federation Government, the Federation ministries of internal affairs and defense. At the same time, the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was presented with draft laws on the republic's government and ministries, which also stems from the agreement on the revitalization of the Federation. All these draft laws are intended to establish an independent Federation Government and ministries, that is, to separate the authority of the bodies of the republic from those of the Federation. Thus, the conditions will be created for the federal authority to be exclusively within the domain of the Federation Government from mid-January.

The Constituent Assembly was also presented with a Federation draft budget proposal, for which we plan 233 million German marks. In accordance with the Dayton agreement, the proposal contains the balance of distribution of income from customs, a third of which will go to the budget of the Republic, and two-thirds to the Federation budget.

The Assembly will also be informed about the concept of the program for the return of refugees and displaced people by the relevant minister, which is also an obligation that stems from the Dayton document on the Federation, although this concept has to be further worked out in accordance with the Dayton agreement [words indistinct]. All the draft laws have been prepared with the participation of ministers from the ranks of the Bosnian Croat people. Full agreement has been reached on many issues. There are, however, issues over which there is still some difference of opinion. To meet the deadline, we have agreed to present draft laws on issues on which we do not have full agreement as equal variations, that is, alternatives. That is why at first glance certain draft laws seem rather complicated. However, the open issues can be resolved. We have an agreed framework and it is certain that agreement can and must be reached within that framework. By presenting these draft laws, the government is proposing that a debate be held in the working bodies of the Constituent Assembly [words indistinct]. Based on the proposal by the justice minister, the government has conveyed to the Constituent Assembly the need for an urgent launch of a procedure to amend the Federation Constitution so as to bring it in line with the Dayton agreement and to create the conditions for passing the proposed laws.

We are convinced that with the full engagement of deputies and adequate participation by government members, the entire work on passing the laws can be

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successfully brought to an end by 20 December, as has been envisaged by the agreement on the revitalization of the Federation. Hence we are proposing that this Assembly session continue, that is, resume immediately [?after] the signing of the agreement in Paris, so that acceptable solutions can be found for these issues and the other decisions can be made that are needed for a rapid and consistent implementation of the peace plan.

Deputies, even during the signing of the [word indistinct] agreement it was stressed that the Federation represents the first and very important step toward peace and the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and this has proven true. The Dayton agreement is really bringing us close to peace. You know what the agreement contains, so there is no need to elaborate on it too much here. I would just like to give a few indications as to what this agreement might mean for Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the nations and citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is understandable that at the moment the internal border between the entities is attracting a lot of attention and raising doubts. There are many people who consider themselves afflicted, since their towns, homes, and property are left on the territory that [words indistinct] this demarcation to go along some other line, even the percentages to be changed, so, for example, instead of having 51-49 percent as set out by the international community, 70-30 percent was produced [words indistinct]. But when I say that this internal division is not just, I am not talking about percentages or the demarcation line. I mean that no division of Bosnia is just, including any internal division, regardless of percentages and demarcation lines.

However, the Dayton agreement is more than just a map. Fifteen documents of some 150 pages have been signed, and they are all aimed at preserving Bosnia, at its reintegration. They all make the internal border relative. The Dayton agreement is unjust because it is based on a situation created by aggression and violence. However, it offers peace and the opportunity to use economic recovery and the democratization of relations, and other peaceful means, to remove the injustices created by war. That is what makes this agreement acceptable. The international community is showing resolve to preserve the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and to establish a stable peace in the region. That is why this internal demarcation line should not be considered definitive. It should not be considered a Wall of China, as in that case there would be no peace.

The other important issue that is now opened is the return of the refugees. The reactions of people have varied from impatience for the return to start to doubts that there will ever be a return. The return of the refugees depends on many factors and the first one is peace. Without peace there will be no return. That is why it is important that we use the advantage of peace offered by the Dayton agreement. An entire mechanism has been prepared in which the UNHCR plays the key role, and that mechanism will work on the creation of conditions for the return of the refugees. To start with, it will certainly not go smoothly, but once the return starts, it may be hard to stop. The entire process may go on for years, but the war also went on for years. In any case, we will insist and persevere persistently on the return.

All in all, the Dayton agreement has to be seen not as the establishment of a final state of affairs for all time, but as a start of a process that offers chances to everyone. If this agreement is definitely signed in Paris, then this will mean that the decision on [words indistinct] has been accepted. What kind of peace we will have will depend on all of us living here. The guns are still smoking, the wounds are fresh and painful, and distrust runs deep. In this situation, it is hard to make optimistic forecasts, but the longer peace lasts, the readier people will be to start thinking peace. Even though the Dayton agreement has been initialed, certain leaders of the Bosnian Serbs are still sending out war messages. They are threatening the contents of this agreement and offering people the tired old ideas [words indistinct]. It is clear that those people who cannot offer a future to others must offer [word indistinct]. They are trying to link an entire nation to their own personal fate, although it is clear that The Hague court is going after individuals and not nations.

We have always thought that the Bosnian Serbs as a nation have an equal right to Bosnia and equal rights in Bosnia as the Bosniaks, the Bosnian Croats, and other citizens have. Bosnia-Herzegovina is the homeland for all of us. Those who have left may feel this most strongly. Wherever they find themselves outside Bosnia, they are always Bosnians and Herzegovinans to others. Bosnia is Bosnian and it belongs to the Bosnians just as the Bosnians belong to it. To claim anything else is either deception or ignorance. To think peace is to think about the future, about economic recovery, about what we will have to offer our children. Can a normal person wish war, death, poverty, and misery to be his children's' future? To think peace means to think about democracy, which will enable normal people to choose — so to speak — normal people instead of nationalistic extremists to represent them in parliament and other bodies. Democracy is a medicine that can give Bosnia-Herzegovina and its people new strength and possibilities for a different and better life. The elections that the Dayton agreement envisages with the help and supervision of the international community offer that chance. It is up to us whether we will take that chance.

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To think peace means to draw a clear line between those who have committed war crimes punishable under international law and those who do not bear such guilt.

The international community is offering us all perhaps the last chance for peace. It is offering economic aid for the reconstruction of the country and the possibility to join European and world trends. Those who miss out on the chance for peace are as responsible as those who started the war. If we take this chance, in a year or two many things could change significantly, could improve significantly. If we miss this chance, without economic support and aid we will not be able to pull out of the abyss into which we have been pushed by aggression and war. In that case, we will live in poverty and misery for decades and [words indistinct]. We are in a position to decide on our own fate, the fate of the Bosniaks, the Croats, the Serbs, and the other citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the fate of the Bosnians. We also have to know that whatever we decide, all of them will feel both the benefits and the damage. It is wrong to think that in this region one nation can prosper while another lives in misery. Whoever thinks in that way is creating misery for all, including his own people. Therefore, deputies, regardless of the bitterness that you might feel over this agreement, which we do not consider just, we still believe that your choice today will be what it has always been, and that is for peace.

Thank you very much.

German Ambassador Addresses Federal Assembly

AU1112182195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 11 Dec 95

[Address by German Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina Johannes Preisinger to the Constituent Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo on 11 December — live; Preisinger speaks in German with consecutive Serbo-Croatian translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Passage indistinct] to the signing of the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina in Paris. [Words indistinct] the future of your country, Minister Kinkel authorized me to wish you strength to make the right decisions [words indistinct].

The agreement opens after four years of war a final historic chance for peace. The [word indistinct] of the Federal Republic of Germany is aware that compromises — which are very demanding for you — have to be made in the name of peace. These compromises are painful, particularly for the refugees and displaced people of Posavina, and the people from eastern Bosnia that are dispossessed in their own country. On the other hand the Serb side has had to accept that Sarajevo will belong to the Federation. There can be no peace without compromise. Only in peace can the people of your country find a just [word indistinct] all the injustices and crimes of the previous years.

Foreign Minister Kinkel and [words indistinct] 7 December, to President Zubak, expressed his understanding with the dissatisfaction felt by the Bosnian Croats with the solution to Posavina. At the same time, he stressed that peace was not possible without concessions. Bosnia-Herzegovina, and particularly the Federation, will need President Zubak's full personal involvement in the next months. The time will come when not only the military but also the civilian stipulations of the Dayton agreement will have to be put into practice. Whether long-term unity of your country can be created, and with it stable and lasting peace, will depend on this. The following civilian elements are essential: the creation of the envisaged central government institutions, elections, respect for human rights, return of the refugees and the displaced, but also of course the reconstruction. Germany is, together with the EU, ready to become deeply involved in the reconstruction. We trust our Bosnian friends that the conditions vital to this cooperation will very soon be established on the side of the recipient.

One essential precondition for the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement is a functional federation. This has been agreed by those who signed the agreement on the Federation on 10 November in Dayton: Apart from President Izetbegovic and Federation President Zubak, it was also signed by President Tudjman. We Germans, and our American friends, who signed this agreement as witnesses, we believe in the Federation and the implementation of the stipulations of the agreement in accordance with the timetable. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is appealing to you to make every effort to make the Federation function. This primarily means that this assembly should achieve unity by 20 December on the necessary laws, and adopt them. The EU and other donor countries, and particularly the international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, need in January next year a functioning federal government. On 20 and 21 December an international conference on reconstruction will be held in Brussels, at which the first urgent measures will be adopted, particularly for the Federation.

Allow me to say a word or two about Sarajevo. There will be no further negotiations in Paris on the status of the city within the Federation. We know about the horrendous crimes that took place here over the last few years. These must not remain unpunished. All the citizens of the city belong to the undivided Sarajevo, including the Serb citizens that are now living on the other side of the front line, unless they are accused by

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the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. [Word indistinct] of every responsible government is to deal with the troubles and concerns of all its people. I appeal to your government to use all its energy to accomplish an acceptance by the Serb citizens so that they can find the strength and hope to remain in the shared capital city, and the shared Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to put in a personal word. On 4 May 1994, when I presented my credentials to President Izetbegovic, I became a citizen of Sarajevo. I have created my own impression of what it is like to be the victim of human suffering and the material destruction of an aggression, and the alienation among fellow citizens, among [word indistinct], and sometimes among friends. I was in the city during the marking of the 1,000 days of the Sarajevo siege. During my stay in Bosnia-Herzegovina I have learned what internal strength is, and the strong belief of the citizens and leaders of this country. President Izetbegovic rightly speaks about the miracle of Bosnian resistance. Cardinal Puljic recently published a book entitled "About Suffering With Hope."

We have to determine the following facts together: Bosnia-Herzegovina has developed through its long historical development as a country with its own identity, which is older than the nationalities of its citizens. The relations among the three main groups, and including the Jewish group, the four main groups of nations living in the country, their relations have been marked throughout its long historical development mostly by peaceful and productive coexistence. The internationally recognized borders of this country are largely the historical ones. Another very important point is valid for the capital city of this country. Sarajevo is still the intellectual center of the tolerant Bosniakdom, whose commitment to the multicultural and multiethnic [words indistinct] reconciliatory and positive constitutional organization.

This morning I visited the VW FAP factory in Vogosca. This means that I was there. Before the war 57 percent Bosniaks and 38 percent Bosnian Serbs worked in the factory. That is how it should, how it must be again. [Words indistinct] told me that the German side is ready for this, and I appeal to those who think that by dismantling it at the last moment, they will dismantle this future, I appeal to them not to do it. I think that I have been very lucky to have my time here overlap with the great strengthening and deepening of the German and Bosnian cooperation. I am happy that I will be able to participate in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its capital city.

As a citizen of this city I can tell you this: Sarajevo is, and Sarajevo will be. [Preisinger speaks the preceding sentence in Serbo-Croatian] [applause]

Parties Agree to 20 Dec Federation Implementation

AU0812214595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Huseinovic] The implementation of the Federation according to the Dayton agreement was discussed at today's meeting between the delegations of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. The meeting was attended by SDA President Alija Izetbegovic and Federation President Kresimir Zubak. At the end of this round of talks, the delegation heads addressed correspondents.

[Bicakcic] We discussed the coordination of political stances, the implementation of the Dayton agreement on the federation, signed on 9 November 1995, which the Constituent Assembly will officially adopt. As you know, the agreement calls for speedy implementation of the federation agreement and its implementation on the ground. [Words indistinct] republican and federal governments, definition of departments within the governments. These were the topics of today's talks. The talks will continue on Monday. Today we reached a framework agreement on (?vital) issues [words indistinct].

[Huseinovic] The HDZ delegation was headed by Mr. Ivo Lozancic, who also addressed correspondents.

[Lozancic] As the SDA president already said, we agreed [words indistinct] we agreed that the process of implementing the Federation would be completed by 20 December, and the Assembly will adopt laws on the basis of which the Federation will continue to exist and function.

[Huseinovic] In response to a correspondent's question as to when we would have a federation, Mr. Lozancic said:

[Lozancic] We concluded that all these processes would not stop the assembly from passing by 20 December all the laws which [changes thought] because we agreed and because the working groups will separate domains, that is, will set up all the departments in the republican and federal governments pursuant to the Dayton agreement. Therefore, 20 December is the deadline for implementing the Federation.

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MBO Expresses 'Skepticism' About Implementation

AU0812175795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Report by Enes Osmancevic on news conference by the Muslim Bosniak Organization in Tuzla on 8 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Irrespective of the fact that the Dayton agreement has more unfavorable than favorable sides, the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] has announced that it would not change anything in its program regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina.

MBO Vice President Salih Burek described the Dayton agreement as a shock, particularly because of the disastrous position of Brcko, the corridor through Semberia and Posavina, the tragic fate of Podrinje, and Tuzla's communication isolation.

The provision in the Dayton agreement according to which entities can establish special relations with neighboring countries is one of the leading motives for the disintegration of Bosnia. He was also very open about dissatisfaction with percentages. Forty-nine percent of the territory has been given to the Serb Republic, but this percentage is significantly higher if one keeps in mind the Serbs on the territory of the federation. Discord is evident between these figures and those from the last census, and no further comment is needed, the MBO vice president said.

He also expressed skepticism regarding the implementation of the Dayton agreement, most conspicuous on the example of refugees and displaced persons. This right is not even being implemented in the Federation, Dr. Burek said, and listed the examples of Stolac, Jajce, and Bugojno. He asked what could then be expected in areas that are under the aggressor's control.

The MBO is particularly dissatisfied with the personnel that the Croatian Democratic Community has nominated for federal functions, and stressed Vladimir Soljic's named. [passage omitted]

Official on Problems in Implementing Accord

AU0812172995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Statement by Hamdija Maslesa, member of the Coordination Committee for the Implementation of the Federal Constitution and chairman of the SDA Regional Council in Herzegovina, on implementation of the pilot project for the return of refugees in the Neretva Canton; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the initialing of the Dayton agreement, we tried on several occasions to contact the Croatian side in order to implement the provisions. After several verbal and written invitations, we managed to meet on 2 December 1995 where we concretely agreed on dates for holding sessions of the municipal coordination councils. International observers were present at the meeting, and on 4 December, the cantonal coordination council held another session in the presence of the OG-4 group [expansion unknown].

We set out for Stolac on 5 December and held a session there. It was agreed a day earlier that the Stolac municipal assembly session would be held within eight days counting from 5 December, but this deadline cannot be met because the Croatian authorities in Stolac claim that they cannot convene a session of the municipal assembly because they are expecting the decisions of the Federation Assembly, and because their president since 1990 is currently in Australia and they are waiting for him to return. This means that the assembly session can only be convened in the new year, which exceeds the deadlines set by the Dayton agreement.

As far as Capljina Municipality is concerned, Croatian representatives in the local authorities claim that they are clear on every point, that they will not implement arbiter Robert Owen's decisions, but will stick to the federal Constitution. Anyone who is not clear on this point, should appeal for protection to the Federation's Constitutional Court although it is clear that both sides, the Bosniak and Croat sides — that is, Federation President and Vice President Zubak and Ganic — signed an agreement stating that all decisions of arbiter Robert Owen will be implemented.

As for Prozor Municipality, representatives of the authorities in Prozor promised that they would convene a session of the interim council within the set deadline, but nothing has come of it so far. As far as the return of Bosniak refugees to Stolac is concerned, the people have not returned yet, houses have not been adapted for living, we, the Bosniak side, have offered to repair all the buildings ourselves so that the people — that is, 100 families — can return to their homes within the 15-day period foreseen by the Dayton agreement. However, the Croatian authorities have rejected this, so we have made no progress here either.

We, the Bosniak side, are ready to implement everything in the Dayton agreement, just as we have done prior to now. Interim municipal councils have been set up and officials elected in the municipalities where we are in power — Konjic and Jablanica — a long time ago. We have done everything in accordance with the decisions of arbiter Robert Owen. As far as other municipalities are concerned, we have met all the prerequisites, and

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the cantonal assembly session could be convened now, or by 31 December 1995 at the latest, because the Dayton agreement states that the municipalities in which interim authorities have not been elected will remain without representatives in the cantonal assembly until they are elected. That is why we are going to demand that the Dayton agreement is implemented, and that counselors from Stolac, Capljina, and Prozor join the cantonal assembly later. The cantonal assembly should be held, authorities — governor, deputy governor, and other bodies — should be appointed, and basic legal documents should be adopted on the basis of which the cantonal authorities could begin work.

Serbs Threaten To Bar NATO Troops

AU1112172195 Paris AFP in English 1700 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 11 (AFP) — Bosnian Serbs have threatened to bar NATO troops from entering a Serb-held area of northern Bosnia unless they give advance notice of their patrols, NATO said Monday.

The threat was issued during an incident Sunday near the town of Brcko, the first of its kind since NATO troops started arriving in the Tuzla region of northeast Bosnia as advance elements of the NATO peace implementation force.

Brcko Residents: U.S. Troops Not Welcome

AU1112164995 Paris AFP in English 1627 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dec 11 (AFP) — Rebel Serbs controlling a key town in the sector of Bosnia to be patrolled by US troops have told the United Nations that the GIs will not be welcome there, even after the Dayton peace accord is signed this week, a UN official said Monday [11 December].

UN spokesman Bruce Stock said a small US reconnaissance patrol had gone up to Brcko, a Serb-held town in the northern Posavina corridor, on Sunday without previously telling the Serbs in the town or asking for their permission.

"It caused a bit of an incident," Stock said.

"The Serbs told UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) officials based up there that US soldiers were not welcome there before or after the signing" of the Bosnian peace treaty in Paris on Thursday, he added.

In Tuzla, a US Army spokesman at the base which will serve as headquarters for incoming US soldiers refused to confirm that a reconnaissance patrol had run into problems at Brcko.

The patrol was said to have taken a US television crew with it.

US Brigadier General Stan Cherrie, a senior commander of the US forces establishing a command centre at Tuzla for the 20,000-strong US deployment in Bosnia last week identified Brcko as a key area of concern.

Brcko, which was mainly Moslem and Croat before war broke out in 1992, is situated on the narrowest point of the slim, Serb-held Posavina corridor which links the two main blocks of Serb-held land in Bosnia.

At the peace talks in Dayton, Ohio, the warring parties could not find common groun on its fate. Instead, they agreed that control of the town should be decided by arbitration at a later date.

Nordic Peacekeepers Led by Danish Commander

LD1012181595 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1700 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Nordic peacekeeping brigade for Bosnia will have a Danish commander. Colonel Kari Hoeglund from the [Finnish] Ministry of Defense says that the Nordic countries have reached a decision on the matter. If the Bosnia operation gets off the ground according to the preliminary plans, the Nordic troops will arrive in the Tuzla region north of Sarajevo in winter conditions. In an interview given to AAMULEHTI, Hoeglund assumes that some of the troops will initially have to put up with accommodation in tents.

Tuzla To Become Center of U.S. Economic Interest

AU1212104895 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 95 p 6

[Article by F. Alispahic: "Tunnel Under Ilincica"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The administration of Selim Beslagic, mayor of Tuzla, is ready to accept many offers from Europe regarding reconstruction and construction in Tuzla. Among the projects offered, many of which are economic, there is also the arrival of some 20,000 U.S. troops.

In short, the citizens of Tuzla could soon expect a complete restoration and reconstruction of the old part of town. The building called "baraka" will be built anew. "Pinga" will grow into a sports and recreation center, and the zoological gardens should be moved from Slana Banja to Ilincica, where a large amusement park, popularly called "little Disneyland," is planned.

It is envisaged that, for their needs, the Americans will dig a tunnel under Ilincica, which should reduce the

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distance between Tuzla and Zivinice to only some 10 km.

The lake at the former strip mine at Sicki Brod will be turned into a recreation center, with all tourist facilities. A hotel in the category of a "Sheraton" or "Hilton" has been announced, and the tourist opportunities will be supplemented with facilities like the so-called "barutana" [powder magazine] on Gradina, which will certainly be built anew. In the town-planning sense, Tuzla will be revived in all aspects, and some projects in the old part of town are already being realized.

Industry in Tuzla will also experience a revival. Apart from the introduction of the most-contemporary technologies in the chemical industry (for instance, pharmaceuticals), new technologies will be established, like the glassworks that will export 50 percent of its production.

These are only some of the points from the futuristic vision of Tuzla that is becoming increasingly realistic. According to the words of an anonymous UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] official, Tuzla will be the center of the U.S. economic interests in the Balkans.

The announced opening of the Tuzla airport for military and humanitarian purposes, and later for economic and civilian purposes, will turn the expectations into reality. If money provides all the "open sesames" of this world, then the $1 million that it is expected that the Americans will be spending daily in Tuzla could accelerate the integration processes that we have already measured in decades.

In almost four years of suffering, people's spirits have become immune to feelings of progress and improvement. The war has represented a shock to its peacetime consciousness, but it is to be expected that what is now coming will represent a positive anticipation for the people, whose expectations of life were previously measured in seconds.

Izetbegovic Briefs U.S. Congressmen on Refugees

AU1112154295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received a delegation from the U.S. Congress, led by Ron Packard, and held talks on issues concerning the implementation of the Dayton agreement. We have just received a statement by President Izetbegovic:

[Begin recording] First of all, I would like to give thanks for these nice words, and say that I have stated that the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina should finally get peace, and that this peace is impossible without the arrival of U.S. soldiers, (?that is), NATO, and U.S. soldiers as part of NATO. They should help us achieve this peace.

The congressmen had a number of questions regarding the arms embargo, the justification, or the lack of justification, for the embargo, and the military balance. I have tried to present our views. Then they wanted to know about problems regarding the return of refugees, under what conditions the refugees can return, the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the establishment, the return of the disturbed democratic (?situation) in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They are aware that Bosnia-Herzegovina was a mixed country, that there was an artificial homogenization, ethnic cleansing, and that the reverse process is needed to return people to their homes. They were interested in the human side of the problem in particular, namely whether it is possible and to what extent we believe it is possible to return [word indistinct]. I said that we absolutely believed in this, but that this would be a long process. (?The foundations for it) would be laid in the first year, when they are present here, when IFOR [Implementation Force] is present here, and when we have elections that could change the situation in that part of Bosnia that is not currently under the control of the Bosnian authorities.

The people's wish to return to their home [words indistinct] to return. Their wish to return should be used [words indistinct]. One only needs to create the minimum security conditions. [words indistinct]

The talks were very interesting, especially on the issues in which they were interested in, regional security here and the military balance. [end recording]

Silajdzic Pledges 'Equal Rights' for All Citizens

AU0812205695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government can be trusted because it has proved on the ground that it respects basic civilization [words indistinct], human rights in particular, Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Government and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said following talks with Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European affairs and head of the U.S. negotiating team.

The Serbs live here with us, the Croats live with Muslims, [words indistinct] and has no intention of doing so. Every citizen is our concern and they will all have equal rights, Prime Minister Silajdzic said.

He expressed particular satisfaction with the fact that the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo would soon expand, that

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troops for the implementation of the peace agreement would soon arrive in our country, and that the administration would help with the (?payment) and supply of natural gas from Russia.

Banja Luka SDS Draws Up New Program

AU1012173795 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Report by Rade Malesevic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serb Republic was recognized, and has its own territory, army, and judicial system. The Serb Democratic Party [SDS], which guided the Serb nation to defend their national rights, deserves most of the credit. However, now that the war is drawing to a close, the party will have to cope with new tasks and recruit new members in order to fulfill them. The party also needs a new program.

To avoid lagging behind, a new Banja Luka SDS Municipal Committee was formed today, and Borislav Srndic, former minister in the Serb Republic government, was appointed its chairman.

[Begin Srndic recording] The SDS is now turning toward peace. It will draw up a new program for the upcoming period. The SDS is aware that the party — even though it started it all and motivated the people to fight for their independence, unification with Serbia, and the right to remain a part of Yugoslavia — is not the only one that deserves credit for the following achievements: international recognition of the Serb Republic, recognition of its borders, and recognition of its right to have its own army, police, judicial system, territory. I can safely say that all Serbs, or citizens of the Serb Republic who remained here and fought, deserve credit for that. All of us fought in the war. Consequently, the SDS must now make a new program and explain what it plans to do to maintain the confidence of the citizens that it can implement the program after the elections. [end recording]

The new SDS Municipal Committee has 53 members, a president, and three vice presidents. Nine commissions were formed through which the party will work. The new program of the Banja Luka SDS Municipal Committee should be completed by 5 January.

Presidency Approves Last Quarter War Budget

AU1112193395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina today held a session, which was chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency.

The Presidency accepted the government's proposal on the war budget of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the last quarter of this year. The Presidency also adopted the decision on the foreign currency funds for financing the public expenditure of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the period between October and December 1995 and the decision on giving some revenues and transferring some expenditure of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the cantons.

At the proposal of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia- Herzegovina, the Presidency decided to award an honorable name to the 712th Travnik Hill Brigade. As of today, this brigade will be called the 712th Glorious Hill Brigade.

The Presidency also discussed other issues from this domain and adopted certain decisions.

World Bank: $4.9 Billion Reconstruction Plan

AU0912203195 Paris AFP in English 2015 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Dec 9 (AFP) — The World Bank Saturday [9 December] proposed a three-year, 4.9 billion dollar emergency plan to help rebuild Bosnia after nearly four years of war.

The World Bank proposed that its donor countries finance a programme of the utmost urgence that would cost between 550 and 600 million dollars for the first three months of 1996, Bank president James Wolfensohn announced during a Bosnia reconstruction conference.

The entire rebuilding programme will be discussed by experts of the European Commission and the World Bank December 20 and 21 in Brussels, then in February during a conference of donor countries.

The World Bank offered to set up a coordination and reconstruction centre in Sarajevo and to guide Bosnia towards a market economy.

"They have expressed their desire to move towards a market economy but it will be a long road," Wolfensohn said.

However, the bulk of reconstruction and rehabilitation aid will be linked to to the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina's debt, which runs to some three billion dollars.

Agreement must be made on restructuring this debt.

But the emergency programme at the start of 1996 will proceed immediately through non-govermental organisations, Wolfensohn added.

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However, the European Commissioner for foreign affairs, Hans Van den Broek, expressed reservations on the "capacity to absorb" such sums by the Bosnian economy over a three-month period.

Wolfensohn explained that nine out of ten people in Bosnia depend on humanitarian aid and industrial output is a mere five percent of its 1990 level.

Energy supplies have been badly hit and a large part of transport and telecommunication networks have been destroyed.

The World Bank programme gives transport and housing 700 million and 600 million dollars respectively. For example, telecommunications will get 570 million dollars, education 275 million dollars, water supply 380 million, industry 400 million dollars, health 140 million dollars, and agriculture 330 million.

But to carry off their ambitious programme, the World Bank will have to convince donor countries, who will also have to agree to extra measures on the Bosnian debt.

The Europeans, as Belgian Foreign Minister Erik Derijcke explained, have their doubts on the willingness of the Americans to enter the financial plan, and to commit themselves to the so-called one-third rule.

This formula states that the European Union and the United States each undertake one third of the financial effort, while the rest of the international financial community would assume the last third.

The London conference also decided on the creation by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees of a fund to help with the rebuilding of houses.

Kordic Views Arrest Warrant From The Hague

AU1112133395 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 5, 6 Dec 95

["Exclusive" interview in two installments with Dario Kordic, departing president of the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Ante Suljak and Marijan Sivric, in Mostar on 3 December]

[5 Dec pp 4-5: "Alija Izetbegovic Standing Behind Hague Indictments"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] What were the reasons for your resignation from duty as president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia- Herzegovina?

[Kordic] I decided to resign after taking into account first of all the global interests of the Croatian nation, the continuity of Croatian state policy and the policy of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], that is, the wish that in these historic moments after Dayton, when, obviously, many things have to be realized at a faster speed. Namely, in the creation of the solid bedrocks of a full Croatian national construction, sovereignty, and constitutiveness, the present situation demands also of us in the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina to make certain moves in the interest of the Croatian nation. Therefore, my resignation from duty as president of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which I have submitted to the Central Committee of the party, has been announced with that aim.

The election of Ivo Lozancic as president of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina is confirmation of the fact that Croatian policy has its own course and continuity. His election is, at the same time, also a message to the whole Croatian nation, and particularly to the Croats of central Bosnia, that we are on the road with the final objective of the existence of the Croatian nation and Croatianhood.

I Am Not Surprised

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Where are you going now, if that is not a secret?

[Kordic] As a person who has always served the Croatian nation, I will remain in the HDZ, a united organization, on a position and with tasks that my party and the leadership of the Croatian nation assign to me. [passage omitted]

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Are you surprised at the charges brought against you by the International Tribunal in the Hague?

[Kordic] I am not surprised. I look at those charges brought against me and five other Croats by the International Tribunal in the Hague, first of all as continuity in the pressures of the international factors on the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Parity With the Serbs

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] What "continuity in the pressures on the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina" is this about?

[Kordic] The introduction happened during 1993 and in the beginning of 1994 before signing the Washington treaty, when all this was prepared to be cooked, when this scenario was created, whose authors were those international circles that did not wish luck to the whole of Croatian policy. These charges today are only a logical sequel to that. [passage omitted]

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Clockwork Charges

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Do you think that this indictment has a political background and that the mechanism has been set as some kind of pressure on the Croatian delegation during the negotiations in Dayton?

[Kordic] Absolutely. Even a small child can see that was their intention, and that they apparently chose the moment when they would put that addition pressure on the Croatian nation and Croatian policy. This move has proved all the quality of an instrument of a judicial institution that has been trying, in quotation marks, to be impartial and independent, and which, obviously, serves only toward the achievement of certain political objectives.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Does this indictment bear also a Muslim signature, since some Muslim officials and part of the media under their control declared you and some other leaders of the Croatian nation to be criminals a long time ago?

[Kordic] It is obvious that this indictment bears, as you have put it, a Muslim signature. Because, without the blessing from the Muslim political leaders in Bosnia-Herzegovina, neither media nor judicature would be able to do what they have been doing regarding the indictments. It is absurd, but the blessing for these indictments comes from the direct ideologists of an unprecedented aggression on the Croatian people in central Bosnia.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] In your opinion, which Muslim faction, that is, which ideologists stand indirectly behind the indictments?

[Kordic] It is beyond comprehension that behind it all there is someone who is precisely the ideologist of the project of annihilation of the Croatian people of central Bosnia, and the one who has been lining up and blessing those who have committed the biggest crimes and the biggest atrocities against the Croatian people of central Bosnia. I am talking about the members of the 7th Muslim Brigade, with all the mujahidin who have fought within that unit. And their immediate commander, because they have recognized only him as the commander, is Alija Izetbegovic. The second person is Rasim Delic, present chief-of-staff of the Muslim army, who once personally spent a long time in the mountains overlooking the Lasva valley and other areas of central Bosnia. According to this, these are the facts that show the absurdity of this situation, as well as the background to everything I am talking about.

7th Muslim Brigade

So, behind this indictment, there are people who have been the ideologists of the policy whose objective was the creation of a Muslim state at the expense of the Croatian nation, above all in central Bosnia, starting with Alija Izetbegovic, Ejup Ganic, and Rasim Delic, and many others. On this occasion I would like to point out some of the names of those members of the 7th Muslim Brigade who have distinguished themselves in those crimes, in those atrocities committed against the Croatian nation.

These are Amir Kubura, Enver Basic, Serif Patakovic, Mahmut Emir Karavic, Ibro Puric, Halil Brzina, Fahrudin Cancar, Huso Livovic, Jusuf Seto, Hasan Alija, Husein Jahic, Mensud Telbiz, Esad Spahic, and their immediate superiors: Enver Hadzihasanovic, Mehmed Alagic, and Dzevad Mlaco. In carrying out their commander's orders, they did not refrain even from murdering the Franciscans, who have for centuries fought for the survival of the Croatian Catholics in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Are those people military or civilian officials?

[Kordic] The aforementioned persons are mostly military officials who have acted as immediate executors of the theoretically organized fundamentalist policy. They, precisely, are those who have done the worst turn in the areas of central Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Open Heart

[passage omitted]

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] To what extent have these indictments interrupted the mutual trust of the federal partners, and is that act, perhaps, some kind of brake in the process of the construction of the Federation?

[Kordic] This basic trust, which has built up from the signing of the Washington treaty, from the spring of 1994 until today, has been interrupted. It is beyond comprehension that precisely the international community and the sponsors of the Washington treaty have allowed this happen, at the moment when we were trying to speed up the process of the establishment of the Federation, which has been confirmed by the signing of the Dayton agreement. So, there is an irrational situation. One should look at the most recent act of the Muslim authorities from Sarajevo in this context. Two or three days ago, the authorities of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina managed to get the decision of the Sarajevo Superior Court, registered as KI-230/94,

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dated 20 November 1995, and sent to all the police stations within the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Muslim control. It is an arrest warrant for 134 Croats! Issued exactly now, at the time when we are talking about a faster implementation of the Federation. The majority of the persons from this list are local civilian and military representatives of the Croatian nation.

Muslim Crimes

This document clearly testifies that there are forces within the Bosniak-Muslim leadership, who nurture an entirely negative psychological climate, which is not in the interest of either nation. Because, since this arrest warrant was issued, it might happen, but it does not have to, that any of these people could be arrested, and that could be a reason for the deterioration of relations on the ground.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Why, for instance, has the Croatian side never published a list of the Muslim civilian and military officials accused of committing war crimes?

[Kordic] We, within the Croatian nation, have thought that we would not exploit the accusations of numerous war crimes and indictments in the media, precisely because we wanted to create a more positive climate in the construction of the Federation project, in which the Croatian nation had found its interest. However, those accusations and indictments are immensely serious for many of the aforementioned people, and we should certainly add hundreds and hundreds of new names to our lists.

Certainly, in this interview, I have to mention Safet Cibo, Jusuf Hadzajic, Hasan Hakalovic, Mirsad Barjaktarevic, Arif Pasalic, Muhamed Buljina, Zulfikar Alispago called Zuka, Dzemal Merdan, Mithad Cerovac, Esad Ramic, Dedo Suljic, Amir Sirovica, Mustafa Omercevic, Suad Hasanovic, Mirsad Sestic, Ramiz Becirhodzic... and many others whose names are on these lists. However, the Croatian nation and the Croatian judiciary have issued no arrest warrants against those and many other people, because we have appreciated all these interests about the Federation project I have been talking about. And the names I have just mentioned are only a part of the existing list, without any intention to prejudice any kind of execution or anything else, but with the intention to tell our partner that certainly the Croatian side has made those moves it had to make, and that the Croatian side has been far wiser, more reasonable, and more rational in the interest not only of its own, but also the Bosniak-Muslim nation.

Stimulus to Federation

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] After everything that has happened in the past weeks, at what stage is the process of the establishment of the Federation at the moment?

[Kordic] The process of the establishment of the Federation apparently has already long been at the stage of status quo. However, after signing the Dayton agreement on the accelerated implementation of that process, both nations should try really hard, and I deeply believe that time and maneuvering space for the people who have been impeding the implementation of the Federation after the Dayton agreement, are over.

[6 Dec pp 6-7: "I Will Go to The Hague If This Is in the Interest of the Croatian Nation"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Kresimir Zubak

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] According to your knowledge, have the warrants for your arrest and extradition to the Tribunal arrived in Sarajevo, Zagreb, or Mostar?

[Kordic] I have received the information and I have had a chance to see with my own eyes both the arrest warrant and the extradition warrant that came to Sarajevo, that is, to the Sarajevo Government. I have also seen the arrest warrant for a fugitive criminal sent by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to all its police stations. The absurdity of all this is in the fact that some of the people who have signed the arrest warrant for me top the list of those accused of war crimes, within the charges brought by the responsible bodies and organs of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. Like, for instance, Bakir Alispahic, Minister of Internal Affairs.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] How do you comment on the information that Kresimir Zubak himself has given his consent to bringing charges against you and five more Croats?

[Kordic] I absolutely condemn such insinuations. No Croat has even in an afterthought believed those allegations, which were obviously intended to break Croatian national unity. Mr. Zubak and I have always worked in the interest of the Croatian nation.

[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] If necessary, will you go to The Hague by your own will?

[Kordic] I will make no move on my own. I will do everything that is in the interest of the Croatian nation, the HDZ, and the Croatian state. I am deeply convinced that we are on the right road and that only what is in the interest of the Croatian nation will be done. The

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Croatian nation and its leaders are taking all necessary steps. So, there is no need for any individual, including myself, to take any step on his own. In the end, I am happy because I belong to the Croatian nation, and I would be desperate if I were guilty before my nation.

Croats Cut Off Electricity to Muslim Mostar

LD0912073995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0108 GMT 9 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 8 (TANJUG) — Croat authorities in the west part of the divided city of Mostar in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina have cut off the electricity supply to the east, Muslim part of the city, Muslim Radio Mostar said on Friday.

The action has deprived Mostar's Muslims of drinking water as well, because all water pumps are electrically operated.

Columns of people, reminiscent of the worst days of the war, are trekking to the Neretva River with pails and taking its dirty and muddy water home, the radio said.

The Croats, who are the Muslims' federal partners in Bosnia- Herzegovina, have turned off the electricity supply to the Muslims because of allegedly unpaid bills totalling 600,000 German [G] marks, the source added.

The city power grid has been rebuilt by the European Union, with an investment of about three million G-marks.

In the period from early 1993 to the spring of 1994, Mostar was the scene of fierce Muslim-Croat fighting, and is now under E.U. administration.

After a year of bitter battles for territories, Bosnia's Muslims and Croats agreed in March of 1994, acting under strong U.S. pressure, to form a federation, which has never actually gotten off the ground.

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Granic Addresses Assembly on Dayton Accord

LD1112135195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 11 Dec 95

[Speech by Foreign Minister Mate Granic to a joint session of parliament in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed deputies, ladies and gentlemen: You have been given my written report, but I will use simpler language and be more specific now so that you can later comment on both my address and my written report. The two make one whole.

I am greatly honored that I can address you at this crucial moment, at a time when our homeland and the whole of southeastern Europe have found themselves at the threshold of peace. People are cautious, full of questions, and sometimes understandably incredulous, now we have found ourselves at this crucial crossroads after all these years of war and suffering.

But, as with any turning point, this one too demands that we all rise to the challenge of the historic moment and show objectivity in our assessment and judgment, as well as restraint and careful consideration in putting up opposition or in glorifying achievements.

We are close to peace. We are at the threshold of peace. We have come to this fateful point after a magnificent struggle of the Croatian people as a whole, as well as its leaders; we have come to it through our achievements and clear aims. We have reached it intact all the way from the southernmost point in the Dubrovnik-Neretva county— Prevlaka—to the northernmost point of Baranja. But we have also reached this point within the framework of a realistic situation in the world around us, a situation in which peace could be restored only if all sides were ready to make compromises. In other words, we have come to the only possible kind of peace.

Over the past year and a half it has become clear that the international community will aspire toward a lasting disentanglement of the conflict in this part of the world by creating a new regional order based on balanced relations between the Croatian-Bosniak and Serbian elements in the territorial, military, political, economic, and demographic sense. In other words, it has become clear that the international community will exert influence to bring about a solution guided less by some moral and ethical principles, and more by an objective assessment and coordination of interests of the Croats, Bosniaks, and Serbs, against the background of a desirable geopolitical and geostrategic model. This model of possible relations attempts to avoid a global or continental confrontation and polarization, and at the same time it attempts to open up the possibility for an overall and as painless as possible balance in the post-Cold War Europe.

The Dayton agreements have not solved all the problems. It is up to us to do that. Neither the Dayton talks nor the Paris peace agreements have given or will give an answer to the numerous moral and ethical questions and human dilemmas. But we have come to the threshold of peace without a complete defeat or a complete victory of either side, which has been the outcome of all regional conflicts in modern history.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: It is not possible to speak about the Dayton agreements and its achievements without remembering some key events this year, both in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Everything started when Croatia canceled the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate on 31 March 1995. That move was crucial, because after UNPROFOR we were given the troops which were intended specifically for Croatia. This was even reflected in their name—the UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia [UNCRO]—which provided yet another confirmation of the place where the operation took place, and with some of its provisions provided the final confirmation of Croatia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The reasons for our cancelation [of UNPROFOR's mandate] are well known. We were not satisfied with UNPROFOR maintaining the status quo and its policy of keeping peace, although no peace could have been kept since there was none.

You know well what had happened in the still occupied areas. After the occupation of that part of Croatia's territory, ethnic cleansing took place in UNPROFOR's presence. We did not want to keep forces which would maintain the status quo, but forces which would clearly implement their mandate. We did not want the international forces to [words indistinct], or in other words, we did not want them to cement the existence of a state within a state.

Our step caused a flood of warnings that we were going to cause a war in which Serbia would take part in a most direct way; that we would destabilize the background of the international forces' operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and be to blame for the rekindling of the war in that neighboring country and for complete instability in southeastern Europe.

We got UNCRO. After that we went for economic agreements in order to speed up the process of reintegration, or to show these rebellious parts of the country—in that way too—that their only future lay in a return to the overall Croatian system. But the rebel leaders—[Milan]

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Martic, [Milan] Babic and people like them—refused to implement these agreements. Despite our clear warnings, they continued with their open provocations and kidnappings of Croatian citizens.

Aware of the fact that the Knin leadership had no intention of carrying on negotiating, let alone actually implementing [the economic agreements], we launched Operation Flash in western Slavonia. We recaptured western Slavonia in an excellent military and police action, and established full control over that Croatian area; that is, we fully integrated it into Croatia's system. After Operation Flash we again came under exceptionally strong pressure from the international community which used every incident, even the slightest, to level accusations against Croatia. On the other hand, we received—more indirectly than publicly—increasing recognition for the way in which the operation was carried out—for its speed and professionalism. The aim of that campaign was very clear: to warn Croatia, and to exert pressure in order to discourage us from any thought of reclaiming the remaining parts of Croatia's occupied territory in the same way, that is, by a military operation.

Even at that stage Croatia notified all international factors that its aim was not to reintegrate the occupied areas by military force, but that there was a limit—a time limit and a conceptual limit—to which Croatia was prepared to go in its attempts to find a solution through negotiations. In other words, if the rebel Serb leaders failed to accept further negotiations and implement the already reached agreements, Croatia would not give up its sovereign right stemming from the UN Charter, or rather, Article 55 on the right to self-defense. We were very clear in that respect, especially in dealings with the most important international players.

What was happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the same time? Despite the international community's threats and warnings, the Bosnian Serbs launched an operation fully to consolidate the territories they held. Mladic's forces launched a merciless and open offensive against Zepa, Srebrenica, Gorazde, and Bihac, and simultaneously continued the strangulation of Sarajevo. Zepa and Srebrenica were occupied despite the fact that they had been proclaimed UN protected zones. The worst individual crimes after World War II were committed there. Only Vukovar was on the same scale as that. Several thousand people from those towns are still registered as missing.

The issue of Bihac was of special concern for us. There is no need to say anything more about what the complete fall of Bihac into Serb hands would mean for Croatia from the military and strategic point of view. Briefly, that indeed would have meant the creation of a Greater Serbia. That would have meant a continuous stretch of territory under Serb control through entire northern Bosnia all the way to 6 km from the Adriatic coast. Croatia could not have accepted that.

The international community did nothing about Bihac, although it reacted to the attacks on Gorazde by adopting the NATO Brussels declaration and by issuing a sharp warning to the Bosnian Serbs.

At that point, when the situation seemed hopeless for Bosnia and the Bosniaks, the Republic of Croatia was the only country to offer some concrete help, and by signing the Split declaration it created conditions for providing legal, military, and all other assistance and for sending the Croatian Army into Bosnia-Herzegovina. Several days later Croatian forces launched a powerful operation and Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc were liberated. This changed the strategic situation considerably.

At that point Croatia started yet another round of negotiations with the local Serb leaders. Despite considerable efforts by international mediators, as well as some key world players, these negotiations did not lead anywhere. The Serbs only used them to buy time again. The beginning and the course of the Geneva negotiations showed that very clearly. For example, Milan Babic promised Ambassador Galbraith in Belgrade that the negotiations would be held in good faith, and that an agreement would be reached, but his instructions allegedly never reached the Serb delegation in Geneva.

Days before Operation Storm, in fact as early as July, we clearly said in numerous letters to all international players, from Butrus Butrus-Ghali to Clinton and Kohl, that unless the Serbs stopped the attacks on Bihac, or rather, if Bihac fell, thus posing a threat to Croatia's important strategic interests, and if there were no true progress in the negotiations with the local Serbs concerning reintegration, we would launch a military operation. And Operation Storm followed.

Storm was a military and police—predominantly military—operation carried out in a perfect and brilliant way. With the accompanying diplomatic action, it put Croatia in a strategically strong position. We all know what we achieved with Storm: we liberated a huge swathe of territory, we severed some strategic connections, we reestablished communication links, and we created conditions for the return of refugees.

In the same way, by dealing the Bosnian Serbs a huge blow near Bihac, we managed to do what the international community could not or did not want to do. The ensuing attacks and successes around Drvar and Jajce [in western Bosnia] brought to an end the myth

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about Serb invincibility, and put the Croatian forces in a strategic position which allowed them, together with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, to consider the complete liberation of Banja Luka and Posavina. By doing all this in line with the Split declaration—which, according to international law, legalized the activity of parts of our army in Bosnia-Herzegovina and our support for the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—we, together with the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, brought about a crucial change in the strategic situation on the ground.

That was the crucial factor which made possible this latest peace initiative. There would have been no peace initiative without those actions and the change they brought about. This is recognized by many international players, or at least all important ones.

Croatia acquired great strategic advantage and an extremely favorable position on the international scene and in the field with Operations Storm and Mistral. On two occasions, the HVO and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces, with their own operations and with logistic and other assistance from the Croatian Army, reached the point from which they could have captured Banja Luka in no more than 48 to 72 hours. The capture of Banja Luka, of course, would have solved the issue of Posavina.

However, on both occasions the leaderships of both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were strongly urged by all the most important international players, led by the United States, to abandon plans for taking Banja Luka because that would have caused a huge refugee crisis, a humanitarian disaster involving 300,000 to 350,000 refugees, and would have completely derailed negotiations, or rather, prevented Milosevic's participation in them, and—as they said—caused a fresh spiral of chaos and violence, as well as a direct conflict between Serbia and Croatia, with immeasurable consequences.

I will briefly tell you what their predictions were at the time. They [important international players] predicted that the capture of Banja Luka would have caused either the fall of Milosevic and thus the loss of the international community's negotiating partner, or an all-out war. They warned us that the arrival of a new wave of 50,000 to 150,000 refugees in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem would have made impossible any military operation there, and that after that no one would have given us any support for any kind of reintegration of those last remaining occupied areas.

This is an objective portrayal of events, with all its advantages and disadvantages. Even though we should look at this in a completely clear context without linking it with the [Serb] aggression and ethnic cleansing, certain events after Storm—serious incidents, certain criminal acts, arson and looting—dealt a serious blow to Croatia's international reputation and made us much more vulnerable than most people think, despite the fact that the president and the Croatian Government sharply condemned the incidents and said that all the culprits will end up in the dock.

I want to stress here that we, as the first victim of the aggression, should fully respect human rights. Thus, our strategic position was damaged to a certain extent and our room for maneuver was limited. Before the Dayton talks and even now we have been constantly warned that a military operation in eastern Slavonia, i.e., the hard integration, would have no support from the international community or any of its members, that Croatia would be completely isolated and international sanctions would probably be imposed. All this has enabled the forces opposing an independent and sovereign Croatia to exert all types of pressure against us, and some have even been talking about an area south of Slovenia, extending to Belgrade, Bulgaria, and Albania [as heard].

However, all international players agree that Operation Storm by our military and police and the success achieved by the Croat forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, together with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, led to the American peace initiative and the Dayton talks. I want to remind the respected deputies that it was Croatia that launched the initiative for the Washington agreements and that, in his first letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton after his election, the president [Tudjman] proposed similar mechanisms for resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia: American leadership, a summit of the great powers, and the arrival of NATO forces. There is no essential difference between the mechanisms of the Dayton agreements and the proposal by the president to U.S. President Bill Clinton.

As for the Washington agreements, I would also like to point out that it was Croatia that provided the initiative. With the president's consent, I proposed this to [U.S. envoy Charles] Redman at a dinner in Geneva in late January 1995. American activity regarding the Washington agreements began at this point. Up to that point they were almost passive observers of the Geneva negotiations.

On the outcome of the Dayton negotiations—what were the Dayton negotiations about? The main topic was, of course, Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was felt that some of the participants were opposed to the issue of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem even being raised. We heard warnings to the effect that the waters should not be muddied by raising the issue of

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the occupied Croatian territories since Bosnia was the key issue. We were even warned, in much sharper and unambiguous terms, against the possibility of a hard-line reintegration.

It should be said that similar attempts were made in the negotiations between Bildt and Milosevic and the late U.S. diplomat Robert Frasure and Milosevic, when the attempt was made to resolve Bosnia as a priority issue, and only then the Republic of Croatia, or rather the issue of the reintegration of the occupied areas. We were against it and made it very clear that if talks proceeded in that direction, we would interpret that as a signal for us to go ahead and resolve our problems on our own.

Despite all this, we succeeded in forcing the issue of eastern Slavonia onto the peace process agenda. We succeeded in enforcing our view that there would be no lasting solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina unless the issue of eastern Slavonia was resolved. In the end, the agreement on eastern Slavonia was the first successful result of the Dayton negotiating process. This agreement must be viewed as part of a package or, rather, it cannot be viewed isolated from both the agreement on normalizing relations throughout the region and the agreement on normalizing relations between the Republic of Croatia and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], or rather Serbia and Montenegro.

The agreement on the normalization of relations proceeds from recognition within internationally recognized borders, and by its nature raises the issue of succession. The main principle applied here is that all the countries emerging from the disintegration of Yugoslavia have the right, the equal right, to succession. But from it duties ensue as well. Serbia insists on the continuity of the name and on inheriting all international agreements, or, rather, on the right to membership in international organizations. If they want the name, they can have it, but if they want to take over the agreements, there must be a consensus of all the successor states and, of course, decisions on membership are made by individual international organizations, independently and in accordance with their own rules and providing no successor state has anything against it.

We, however, insist on all the countries being given the same rights and obligations ensuing from the succession, or rather on the Badinter commission's decisions continuing to apply as well as the UN Security Council Resolutions 757 and 777. With U.S. written guarantees relating to the interpretations of the provisions of the Basic Agreement [on eastern Slavonia], the Zagreb-Erdut agreement, the UN Security Council resolutions, and a U.S. administrator who will be responsible for the civilian and military components, we are confident that the international forces will carry out demilitarization within a month after their deployment in the region and that all the elements of Croatian authority will be gradually introduced during the interim period. This includes a police force to reflect the ethnic structure before the war, before the aggression on Croatia, and, of course, the control of the Croatian border along the Danube.

With the aforementioned guarantees, a Croatian state with a strong military, economy, and diplomacy is the firmest guarantee that the reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem will be completed within the envisaged period. I now want to draw attention to the latest reports.

The Contact Group met in London together with top Belgian, Canadian, and UN representatives and they discussed the responsibilities of the American administrator, a retired three-star U.S. general. He will have all competences, both military and civil, and he will be nominated over the next two days, before Paris in any case. They discussed the additional forces, of 4,000 to 5,000 instead of 8,000 to 9,000. Canada and two European states will probably supply the troops, and negotiations with Canada are under way. A decision should be adopted by 14 December, and Paris should define all elements in connection with the transitional period.

What was agreed in Dayton? Let me mention several concrete results of Dayton. The Croatian delegation and the delegation of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina signed or verified a number of agreements: the agreement on the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, agreements on the return of Croat and Muslim refugees to certain towns in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the return of refugees from Cazin and Velika Kladusa to their homes. The Croatian delegation also actively contributed to the agreement between the Croats and Bosniaks in Mostar and worked on a very important agreement on the establishment of a joint council for cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina which will be signed in Paris. Dr. Franjo Tudjman will be the president of the council and Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, will be its vice president. The council's task will be to coordinate the efforts to include the two states in European integrations, to coordinate efforts in defense processes and to harmonize our interests regarding defense, succession, and economy.

With the delegation of Serbia and Montenegro, i.e., the FRY, we signed an agreement on the immediate resolution of the problem of missing and detained persons. We prepared an agreement on the normalization of relations [with Yugoslavia] which will be signed after the

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final signing of the agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina in Paris. President Tudjman will sign the framework agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina on behalf of the Croatian state and the nation. This agreement is of vital importance for the success of the Dayton negotiations and it is crucial for the global peace process in the region. The agreement on the strengthening of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina deserves to be mentioned separately.

In Dayton, the Federation proved to be the mainstay of the entire peace process for Bosnia-Herzegovina and a realistic guarantee of coexistence and cooperation between the Croat and Bosniak people in conditions of full national and political equality as the constituent nations. According to the new arrangement, Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two entities and three constituent nations. Bosnia-Herzegovina will consist of two constituent units, the Federation and the Serb Republic with the territorial division ratio of 51.4:48.6. Bosnian Croats will have two cantons as administrative units and the municipality of Stup with a Croat majority will be set up in Sarajevo. We have also been given Odzak and the surrounding area, which are at present not in our hands. We have also been given a continuous stretch of territory from Bihac to the southernmost point in the direction of Prevlaka. For the most part this stretch is between 50-100 km wide. This provides security for the hinterland in southern Croatia, i.e., Dubrovnik.

The Federation has also gained the presence of NATO troops and enormous reconstruction funds. Bosnia-Herzegovina will exist as a sovereign state but with a decentralized system that will guarantee the rights of its constituent nations to safeguard their national identity. Bosnian Croats can develop and assert their constituent element within the framework and through the institutions of the Federation and the future state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. One of the three-member presidency in the future state—of course, there will be rotation there — will be a Croat with the right of veto. Two out of six constitutional court judges, plus three from the international community, will be Croats. There will also be a two-chamber parliamentary system, which will prevent outvoting and is based on consensus. In addition, special emphasis was placed on the right of refugees to return to their homes and on human rights with a large number of monitoring mechanisms in place. Practically speaking, there is not a single state with so many mechanisms for safeguarding the rights of refugees and human rights with the help of the most powerful international mechanisms of control.

Besides this, particular emphasis was placed on the right of refugees to return. Apart from this, there is naturally also the council for cooperation, which will be able to provide additional guarantees for all of this.

Prevlaka: The problem of the Bosnian Serbs' access to the sea was raised as early as the time of the well-known Owen-Stoltenberg plan, which sought a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina in a so-called union of three republics. At that time the Bosnian Serbs had, just like the Muslims, a certain degree of international support and understanding regarding their demand. This means their demand for access to the sea.

As this plan for a union of three republics had collapsed and as the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation was established later, this Serb demand was no longer discussed. In Dayton the Serbian-Montenegrin delegation repeatedly raised this demand, suggesting a three-way swap of territory—the Dubrovnik hinterland to Croatia, meaning a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Prevlaka to the Montenegrins, and part of Montenegro's territory to the Bosnian Serbs because they regarded Prevlaka as a disputed area.

We declined this proposal and suggested a mixed commission in charge of outlining the border on the sea because the maritime border has not yet been established. I would like to clearly reiterate Croatia's position.

Prevlaka is a sovereign part of Croatia. Croatia has emerged from the Dayton process as a totally restored whole. There is no mention of Prevlaka in the Dayton documents. We drew the attention of the representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro to the fact that under the Croatian Constitution border problems are solved on the basis of a two-third majority in the assembly and by referendum. We also clearly pointed out to them that the Croatian public and the leadership opposed any changes to Croatian state borders.

The maps and demarcations in Bosnia-Herzegovina: At the beginning the Croatian delegation and the delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina tabled a shared draft proposal for lines of demarcation that was based partly on the contact group plan and partly on the current lines of separation, i.e., over 64 percent of territory for the Federation.

In this initial proposal Posavina was meant to belong to the Federation in keeping with the principles laid down under the contact group plan. We are talking about the proposal that was tabled jointly by the delegations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. The Serbians tabled a counterproposal in which 65 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina's territory was to be included in the Serb

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Republic. Following these, the U.S. mediators began negotiating individual major points.

These were mostly negotiations between the Bosnian and the Serbian side; Sarajevo, Gorazde, Brcko, Bosanski Petrovac, etc.

Negotiations on Sarajevo were of particular importance, regarding both its status and the size of the area. The same can be said about Gorazde and its corridor, i.e., the territorial access to that town in eastern Bosnia. These negotiations lasted more than a week. After the negotiations on Sarajevo and Gorazde were successfully completed—meaning that the Bosniaks or, to be more precise, the Federation got Sarajevo, and Gorazde with a 20-km wide territorial access encompassing both sides of the River Drina—the Serbs dug in and had the full support of all U.S. mediators. They demanded the original territorial ratio of 49 to 51 percent in accordance with the contact group plan and the Geneva and New York agreements. Just before the issues of Sarajevo and Gorazde were resolved, the Serbs and the Americans did not insist on the 49:51 territorial ratio. However, after the issues of Sarajevo and Gorazde were resolved, they dug in, and from that moment on strong pressure was exerted against the Croatian and the Bosniak delegations with the aim of forcing them to accept the 49:51 ratio. The Croatian delegation firmly stood by its standpoint according to which Posavina remained in the Federation. The other way to resolve this was to look at demarcation lines and the contact group plan. Realizing Posavina's full value, we offered in exchange the liberated [previously Serb-held] areas in western Bosnia and the ratio was 1:3 and even 1:4 [in Serb favor].

I should also mention the last two days of the negotiations. The day before the end there was a stalemate, and at around 2300 our delegation headed by President Tudjman had a meeting with the U.S. delegation headed by Secretary of State Christopher. We stood by our position and Christopher said that he would return in an hour or an hour and a half, by 0100 or 0130.

As he did not return within the following two-and-a-half hours, we withdrew with no suggestion. Around 0410, i.e., an hour afterward, they woke us up saying that the agreement was ready. When we saw it, in practical terms it looked tragic—to the detriment of Croat interests—up to Kupres and even up to Livno [as heard]. The consensus—to arrive at the 49:51 ratio—that should have been given was to the Croats' detriment, and it did not include Posavina [as heard].

We energetically rejected it and the talks then entered a phase when the U.S. delegation started speaking about the failure of the conference. A statement had already been printed and distributed to all the sides saying that the conference had not succeeded.

During that day, or in the second part of the day, the Americans came up with a compromise, meaning that the 41:59 ratio [numbers as heard] should be preserved, that the Bosniak and the Croat sides should give, i.e., Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, some concessions with regard to the western part that they have conquered in order to arrive at the 41:59 ratio [numbers as heard]. For Posavina they suggested that some territory, Odzak and the part that has been defended—Orasje—should be included in the Federation.

After that, President Clinton himself had a conversation with President Tudjman, and many top-ranking officials, including Chancellor Kohl, sent messages to the president proposing a compromise solution, which was accepted later irrespective of the fact that this was a painful compromise of which we are all aware.

It should be noted that at this time the question of Brcko and the corridor arose: The Bosniak side demanded arbitration, Milosevic did not agree. It should be said that up to 0800 in the morning of the last day when the agreement was signed nothing was ready. That morning President Tudjman himself, on his own initiative and following talks with President Demirel, managed to persuade Milosevic to accept arbitration both for Brcko and the corridor. After that President Izetbegovic consented and a compromise was reached.

I should note that in addition to Brcko, the Federation, meaning the Bosniak and the Croat side, will also demand a territorial strip between Brcko and Orasje in the course of arbitration.

What would have happened had we not signed the Dayton agreement?

Clearly, the international community would have discussed who had been most responsible for the failure to sign. It is evident from all reactions that all of the international community, particularly the world's leading statesmen, were closely and intensely following the Dayton negotiating process as they lent their almost unanimous and firm support for the agreement. Such support was voiced by, namely, Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin, Chirac, Kohl, and Demirel; the highest-ranking EU officials, and particularly the Holy Father who described the framework agreement as a significant juncture for the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and European history. The accord and the agreements reached and the unfolding of the negotiations in Dayton—their critical moments and their outcome—evidently confirm that the Croatian delegation headed by President of Republic

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Franjo Tudjman had the most prominent and most active role, something which has earned it a great deal of public appreciation.

Such activities of the Croatian delegation and the president himself significantly contributed to the success of the negotiations. On several occasions, through determined efforts and incentives and constructive suggestions, and during the negotiations when the Federation and the constitutional solutions were negotiated in the most critical moments, we managed to find solutions. President Clinton told President Tudjman on the telephone that clearly Croatia held the key to the solution and the key to war and peace, and, that because of this, had Croatia alone, I say precisely alone refused, to sign the Dayton agreements for this or any other reason it would have automatically assumed the greatest responsibility by the international community for the collapse of a key international effort.

This would have resulted in international isolation—something we were warned about in clear terms. We would have undoubtedly become the most isolated country in Europe, while our door and our access to European integration trends would have been totally sealed. We would have been subjected to sanctions because of the presence of Croatian Army units in Bosnia-Herzegovina regardless of the Split declaration, so we would have practically relegated ourselves to Serbia's position with the proviso that its position would have been perhaps slightly better because in that scenario Croatia would have been the only, main party to blame.

Reintegration would have been frozen and the international support for such a solution would have vanished. Apart from political isolation, we would also have been isolated from the international financial sphere. In any case, there would have been no lifting of the arms embargo and there would have been no talks about a possible regional security arrangement.

One should not delude oneself and think that this isolation would have been short term. On the contrary, the damage we would incur and the loss of tempo, not only in our approach to Europe, but also in our domestic economic, defense, social, and civilizational renewal would be enormous and difficult to overcome. It is now up to us how much and in what way we are going to use opportunities that are opening up through the Dayton agreement and its implementation.

What did Croatia gain in concrete terms? There is not a single statesman, politician, or reputed representative of international media who has not said that Croatia has achieved almost all of its strategic goals. These are: territorial integrity; stable borders that thwart any repetition of rebellion against the legitimate Croatian Government; and peaceful reintegration of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the achievement is that the Croat people are treated as a constituent nation at all levels, while the Croat Defense Council is in control of almost 20 percent of the territory. With a painful compromise—Posavina—we achieved almost all of our strategic goals in Bosnia-Herzegovina too.

It should be said that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly and the assembly of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna yesterday confirmed the Dayton agreement.

Nevertheless, I should like to outline what is the concrete importance of the Dayton agreement for Croatia: Admission to the Partnership for Peace program as the first step toward our inclusion in the Western military and security system; the lifting of the [arms] embargo will enable us to modernize the Croatian Army and our defense system; deployment of NATO commands in several towns in Croatia will improve in concrete terms both our political and military cooperation with that alliance, primarily with the United States; doors are finally being opened for our unhindered admission to European integration processes—the European Council, the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program and associate membership agreement.

We will get reconstruction aid and will also take part in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We will get aid for the stabilization of our banking system, gain access to money markets, and world financial institutions will participate in the financing of development projects for our infrastructure. Creditworthiness of the country has been improved, the general credit risk index has been reduced. A war-free country will be attractive for foreign investment. A war-free country and a country free of danger of war will experience renewal of its tourist industry; it has been envisaged that we can earn maybe $2 billion or even more next summer. Direct revenue from the reopening of roads may amount to over $0.5 billion a year.

Croatia's position will be strongly stabilized and improved bilaterally, from Central Europe to Eastern countries to America. The democratic, strong, and internationally affirmed Croatia, such as it is already today, is a guarantee that we will resolve and remove all our current problems in the foreseeable future. Such an integral and democratically developed Croatia will become not only an indispensable player and guarantor of the overall new security and political order in southeastern Europe, but also the initiator of general development, in which Croatia will benefit most.

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Thank you, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen.

Opposition Parties Criticize Dayton Peace Deal

LD1112155695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Separate sessions of the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Assembly opened with a tribute to fallen Croatian defenders and the civilian victims of the war. [passage omitted]

Both chambers began with a debate on the report by Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister. Here is Jasenka Dudic's report:

[Dudic] The leaders of the deputies' groups were first to take the floor in the Chamber of Deputies' debate on the report by Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister. The opposition expressed a great deal of criticism. Ivica Racan, speaking on behalf of the SDP [Social Democratic Party], said that the Dayton agreement does not defeat the Greater Serbian concept because the victim and the aggressor are treated in the same way and the return of refugees is ensured only on paper. He also asked whether the Dayton agreement ensured the unity of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On behalf of the HSP [Croatian Party of Rights], Ivan Gabelica said that the agreement initialed in Dayton is contrary to law and moral principles because, as he said, Bosnia-Herzegovina is divided in an unjust way and the aggressor is rewarded. He announced that his party will issue a declaration rejecting the Dayton agreement as null and void. Gabelica said that Croatia should defend the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The HSS [Croatian Peasants' Party] believes that there can be no talk about a basic agreement on eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem until the UN Security Council's implementation measures are announced, Zlatko Tomcic said. The return of refugees should be organized according to a 1991 census.

On behalf of the IDS [Istrian Democratic Assembly], Ivan Jakovcic spoke about the issues that the Dayton agreement left open, and asked whether there would be any territorial exchanges.

The HDZ deputies' group accepts Minister Granic's report, Dubravko Jelcic said, because they are aware of their political responsibility which the current international relations impose. Those who do not understand that we cannot appeal to and influence the world's morality are either politically naive or something else, Jelcic said. He added that the most dangerous thing to do is to equate wishes and realistic possibilities. We have to be serious when we discuss crucial issues in order to avoid losing the realistic minimum by insisting on the unrealistic maximum. Commenting on past events, Jelcic stressed that throughout history Croats have been trying to outdo one another in putting forward the most unrealistic demands in order to prove who is the greatest Croat. The result of such policy was fatal for Croatia. He urged the opposition deputies to show the political maturity necessary at these difficult times in order to achieve what is most important: the freedom of Croatia. A new situation will open up new possibilities, he stressed. Let us wait and see how things will develop because, Jelcic said, what now seems impossible might become completely realistic in new circumstances.

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Defense Minister Views NATO, Dayton Accord

AU1112170095 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 9 Dec 95 p 15

[Interview with Defense Minister Blagoj Handziski by Slobodanka Jovanovska and Zoran Petrov; place and date not given: "A Stabilized Border and a Long Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a short period of time two very important events regarding our state have occurred. The first is Macedonia's admission to "Partnership for Peace," which positively locates Macedonian defense and security, and the second is the Dayton peace agreement of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which initiates the process toward a peaceful solution of the Balkan crisis, with long term repercussions for stability throughout the region. The admission to NATO's "Partnership for Peace" program represents just a part of the overall international promotion of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] that followed September's accord with Greece, but at the same time it is a large step toward internal relaxation on the question of security. This was the concrete reason for our conversation with Macedonian Defense Minister Blagoj Handziski.

Multiple Profit from the Partnership

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] The presentation document on our admission to "Partnership for Peace" says that Macedonia will create a defense system according to its possibilities and in proportion to countries with similar characteristics. What does this actually mean?

[Handziski] The most suitable answer is to recall the rights and duties of all the countries that are members of this program. In other words, those countries that are ready to guarantee transparency in the processes of planning and budgeting for national defense, to maintain democratic and civilian control over the armed forces, to train part of the armed forces for participation in international operations under the leadership of the United Nations and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], to develop cooperation with NATO in joint planning, training, and exercises, to undertake peacekeeping assignments, and to develop forces over the long term for joint operations with NATO forces, are invited to join the Partnership.

So, by undertaking these duties, the Republic of Macedonia has the following rights: to utilize technical and other NATO information that is needed for cooperation with its armed forces in all types of planning and development, regular polls and information on possible direct threats against its own territorial integrity, independence, and security, to open an office at NATO headquarters in Brussels and to have representation in the coordinating cell in Mons to coordinate joint activities. Moreover, there is assistance in planning defense, the development of a system of democratic control over the armed forces, and the elaboration of an annual individual program for joint activities by which our armed forces will be trained and empowered for participation in multinational training and exercises and operations in cooperation with the alliance.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] What parts of our armed forces will have priority in aid with military means and equipment and, in general, what advantage is there for our state in this plan for admission to "Partnership for Peace"?

[Handziski] From what I have just said it is clear that membership of "Partnership for Peace" does not necessarily mean that there will be concrete assistance in the modernization of our armed forces.

As for the question about our future equipment, I would like to recall that last year the ministry worked out a complete program on the schedule of equipping the armed forces with modern material and technical military hardware. Our army is now equipped with modern infantry weapons and military equipment for efficient antiarmor and air defense over small and medium ranges. But with the embargo, over the last two years we have not been able to equip our armed forces properly. After the lifting of the embargo, within the budget possibilities for next year, our armed forces will be equipped with this military hardware and modern communications compatible with those of members of the alliance.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Has the arms embargo been officially lifted for Macedonia?

[Handziski] The present situation is as follows: If the Dayton agreement is implemented for all the states that were created out of former Yugoslavia, the embargo will be lifted on the 90th day after the agreement is signed and this will apply to all small arms. If the sides involved carry out the reduction of their military potentials, the full lifting of the embargo will occur on the 180th day after the agreement. In this respect, there is a distinction for us and Slovenia. The obligation to reduce arms applies to Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia, and verification is to be carried out by the OSCE security forum. There is no such verification for Macedonia. We believe that the Dayton agreement for Macedonia and Slovenia must be interpreted such that the embargo for us is immediately lifted. We have discussed this with Secretary Perry and Mr. Comras at the request of the State Department. We are now asking the United States to comment on this part of the Dayton agreement, which means for us that the embargo is

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immediately lifted. We have not yet received a response but we are expecting one soon.

Macedonia at Disposal of NATO Forces

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Can Macedonia count on any benefits on arms and military hardware supplies, particularly from the United States?

[Handziski] We have already received some financial assistance through the so-called Warsaw Initiative, which amounts to $2.5 million. This sum is mainly intended for international training and the education of our senior officers, as well as for the "Bridge to America" Program. Another source of assistance or equipment for our armed forces, and we discussed this with Secretary Perry, concerns part of the U.S. equipment that was left unused following the reduction of the U.S. forces in Europe. As you know, the number of troops has been reduced from 330,000 to 130,000, with the lowest limit being 90,000. Thus, a large part of the equipment has been released and returned to the United States, while another part remains as surplus in Europe. We discussed this topic at the bilateral meeting in Washington at the time when the arms embargo was still in force. It mainly concerns service vehicles and, even more important for us, engineering equipment, which we need at several levels.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] In Brussels three days ago, there was an announcement that Macedonia is intended to be one of several transit zones for the IFOR [Implementation Force] troops that are to be stationed in Bosnia. Can you explain this?

[Handziski] NATO has offered a number of states an agreement on the transit of forces for the implementation of the peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. These states are Austria, Hungary, Greece, Macedonia, and Slovenia. At the Dayton conference, Serbia signed an agreement on IFOR's transit through its territory. We asked to sign a joint agreement with all alliance member countries regardless of whose troops will be passing through our state. For now it is certain that only U.S. troops will be passing through Macedonia. Agreement was reached on this at the last government session.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Does this agreement imply the opening of a base for the troops, as has been projected in Hungary?

[Handziski] No, it is a different situation in Hungary. They will be crossing our country without stopping.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Last week the most provocative news was Russia's objection to prolonging the mandate of the peacekeeping forces in Macedonia for 12 months and there were some calls for a reexamination of the mission at a news conference last week of the UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] command. Is it possible that the next six months will be the last for the Blue Helmets in Macedonia and what is your opinion about Russia's objection to the prolongation of their mandate?

[Handziski] You know that we have worked in coordination with the UNPREDEP mission, with the countries that are participating in the mission, and with the United Nations over the full independence of the UNPREDEP Command. I do not know about any discussions at the news conference of the UNPREDEP representatives or whether there were any discussions about a change in the mandate, but the fact is that, starting from January, we are going to have a special military command and a special logistic support. In the discussions on the preparation of Butrus Butrus-Ghali's report and in the discussions with the countries that are participating in UNPREDEP, particularly during the visit of Mr. Perry and the Nordic ministers, the common assessment was that the mission had been successful and that the mandate must be prolonged for another year. We want this prolongation for two reasons. First, in this period the full implementation of the Dayton agreement is expected to take place and, if this is accomplished, it is clear that we will embark upon a lasting peace in the region, primarily because the presence of 80,000 troops [figure as published] will be another stabilizing factor to prevent new conflicts and new destabilization from arising. We expect that in this period the Kosovo crisis will be or will start to be resolved—by peaceful means, with dialogue, and within the framework of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. This will create conditions that will entitle us to believe that there will be no further need for the UNPREDEP forces. We will actually be the happiest if such conditions are created, because it will mean that the situation in the region and on the border with the FRY is fully stabilized, particularly because we expect the mutual recognition of all the states that were created from the former Yugoslavia to follow from the signing of the agreement in Paris.

We also believe that everybody has the right to have his own views. This is why we do not reject the view of the Russian Federation that, with the signing of the Dayton agreement and the beginning of its implementation, there are no longer the conditions that threaten peace and stability, or the escalation of conflicts in any part of the region—Macedonia included. However, our views are different, and clearly the same as those of the international community, because if it had other views, it would not expend so much effort and bring tens of thousands of troops here to implement the Dayton agreement, if it were sure that what was down on the

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paper alone were sufficient. The Americans themselves say that they have peace only on paper for now and that it will be secured only after the full implementation of the agreement. Which means that it is not safe now. So, our view is that these troops should stay in the Republic of Macedonia.

You also know that a compromise has been found for the continuation of the mission in Macedonia until 30 May. In this period two reports of Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali are expected, of which the first will be on 24 January, when he will give a full explanation about the situation on the northern border and the UN's views on the need for this mission over the next period (after 30 May), as we have requested and as the secretary general recommended—that is until 30 November 1996. We have already done some work on conforming our views with those of the United Nations and the members of the Security Council and there are no difficulties in agreeing that, if the conditions are created by next November for us to have real guarantees of a lasting peace in the region, we will be the first to announce that we do not need the UN mission any more. For the time being, we feel that they should stay until next November and we will be asking the secretary general to state in his report that there is a need for the prolongation of the mandate for the next six months.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Macedonia has chosen to become a member of NATO and, among other things, this implies the obligation to participate in international operations such as the one in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Do you think that the Macedonian public is prepared to accept having our Macedonian soldiers engaged in various military interventions of the "Desert Storm" type?

[Handziski] By signing the "Partnership for Peace" program we accepted—and this is Macedonia's duty—to keep a squad, a company, or another unit, in conformity with the state's possibilities, trained to be permanently ready to participate in UN or OSCE peace missions at the request of the United Nations or the OSCE. Another duty that arises from the signing of this document is to participate in joint operations with the alliance's forces.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] Do you think that the opinion of the citizens should be sought on such matters, through a referendum?

[Handziski] What I said does not automatically mean that such an agreement has been signed or that such a decision has been made. Actually, an obligation to prepare such forces has been undertaken, but parliament will decide whether or not they will take part in any particular peace operation. Such participation is determined by an agreement and each agreement has to be ratified by parliament.

Enormous Armaments Are Not Profitable

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] A commonly accepted view over the last three years has been that, as long as there is war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia can count on peace. Now that, in principle, peace has been reached in Bosnia-Herzegovina, what is your assessment of the military and security situation around Macedonia?

[Handziski] At present the security situation on the internal and external planes is stable. We expect all the forces to the north of us to be occupied with the implementation of the Dayton agreement in the coming period. This will require a very large engagement by all the sides involved in the crisis, as well as neighboring countries. Indeed, their attention will be turned in this direction.

It is another issue that in the region and in general there are still strong forces that are radical and nationalistic and whose minds have not yet been liberated from the idea of new ethnic cleansing to create large ethnic and similar states. There are still some tendencies toward creating so-called informal alliances on Orthodox or Islamic bases, and so on. This runs counter to Macedonia's internal and foreign policy, because it has chosen to develop equal relations with all its neighbors, opting for a European policy and opposing regional alliances. One of these informal alliances stretches along the entire Orthodox line and so far it reaches Greece, even though this country is a member of NATO (as you know, Greece has signed a cooperation agreement on defense with the Russian Federation), and there are some similar rapprochements between Serbia and Bulgaria and between Serbia and Romania, which could not wait for the lifting of the embargo so as to open the border.... So, the situation is not stable in terms of our policy. First of all, we are looking forward to a lasting peace being secured in the region so as to drive forward the economy and the integrative processes.

[NOVA MAKEDO NIJA] Speaking about Russia, we are familiar with the bombastic announcement from Moscow that it will point its nuclear missiles at the Czech Republic and Poland if they join NATO. Have there been any similar messages from Moscow to us intimating that our determination to join NATO does not suit them?

[Handziski] No, there have been no messages to us. However, I have to say that the basic policy of all the member countries of the alliance and the "Partnership for Peace" has been built on this foundation, that if there is no lasting peace and stability in Europe, if

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there is no cooperation, and unless all the countries of the North-Atlantic region fulfill their duties, there can be no lasting peace. The present activities within NATO do not tend toward the creation of new divisions, but toward the inclusion of all the states in the new European defense structure. This is why the Russian Federation has also joined the "Partnership for Peace" initiative. In time, with the reinforcement of confidence and mutual understanding, we should expect the danger of new divisions and the creation of new zones of influence to decrease rather than increase.

[NOVA MAKEDONIJA] To conclude, what is your assessment of the Dayton agreement? How just is it and will it lead to a solution of the crisis in the region?

[Handziski] The Dayton agreement, and Macedonia was among the first countries to welcome it, has once again demonstrated that every war must end with a peace agreement, that today internationally recognized states cannot disappear from the world's geographical and political maps just like that, and that the international community is ready to stop the violent changing of borders. The Dayton agreement also shows that enormous weaponry and the engagement of enormous human resources to bring about radical and nationalistic ideas does not pay off, because the agreement on regional stabilization obliges the sides involved in the conflict not only to fulfill the duties from the Vienna Agreement on the reduction of conventional forces, but also to reduce military potentials to levels that represent a full mutual balance and a balance with neighboring countries, and within this framework also with Macedonia. A positive influence will be exerted by 32 countries, among which the Russian Federation will be included for the first time in a joint NATO action, that will undoubtedly play a decisive role in reaching peace and lasting stability in the Balkans.

Foreign Minister on SFRY Succession, Bosnia

AU1112201595 Skopje MIC in English 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In his speech on Thursday [7 December], at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] in Budapest, Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski emphasized the exceptional importance of the problem of succession of SFRY. "The Macedonian view is that this problem can be resolved, but with the resolutions of the Security Council and the conclusions of the Budinter Commission," Crvenkovski said. He stressed the significance of the Dayton agreement for the whole of the Balkans, and asked that Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] be included in the project for the renewal of Bosnia and Croatia, as a result of the enormous damages it has suffered, as a consequence of the sanctions against FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia. Crvenkovski underlined Macedonia's readiness to get included in the search for the best security model in Europe and to satisfy the request of the chairman of the OSCE to send its own group to monitor the elections in Bosnia.

On Friday [8 December], Crvenkovski had a separate meeting with the Foreign Secretary of the Commonwealth of Great Britain Nicholas Bonsor.

Diplomatic Relations With Israel Established

AU1112195195 Skopje MIC in English 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] During the ministers' meeting in Budapest, with the exchange of notes between the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Macedonia ¡The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Stevo Crvenkovski and the Foreign Minister of Israel Ehud Barak, the Republic of Macedonia and Israel established diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

Prime Minister Comments on Economic Situation

AU1112201695 Skopje MIC in English 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski met with representatives of the Ohrid economy in the factory "AGP" in Ohrid on Saturday [9 December]. At the meeting, Crvenkovski made a retrospective of the to-date achievements on an economic plan, and what has to be done in the state in the period ahead. The directors of a number of firms from Ohrid tabled the problems they have been encountering in their work, mainly in regard to the customs rates upon the import of equipment and intermediate goods, the lack of revolving stocks in order to start a new investment cycle, insufficient support from the banks, over-employment, etc.

Looking back on the past four years, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has encountered a large number of economic problems, however, Branko Crvenkovski added that a number of important projects have been made on an economic plan: the inflation has been curbed, a stable currency has been achieved, macroeconomic balance has been restored, and foreign currency reserves from US $260 to 270 million have been made.

However, Crvenkovski emphasized, we have not managed to stop the drop in production. In the first nine months, we had a drop in industrial production of 11.8/%, which takes part with some 40/% in the GDP. Next year, the Government plans to start up industrial production again, since the necessary conditions have been created. "Ours is a small market, and that is why we have

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to get out in the world, and we are simply forced to face the world prices and quality. How long we will last and how we will be able to keep up with the world prices, well, that's altogether a different question. What's important for Macedonia at this moment is how we can revive the production process," the prime minister said.

According to Crvenkovski, the Finance Ministry and the People's Bank of Macedonia have to prepare a program of their own for this problem. The realization of this program will go through the business banks, and the businessmen should not expect the state to play a commercial bank that will or will not give credits to some. "God help a country in which the government starts dealing with that and in which the ministers become bankers who will decide where to give, and where not to give money. It must be known that we don't need a production that does not have a market, much less to be given financial support for one purpose, and to use the funds for another," Crvenkovski stressed at the end.

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Michnik Calls For Public Apology by Kwasniewski

WS1112140795 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Dec 95 p 1

[Commentary by Adam Michnik: "Decency and the Law"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Supreme Court has ruled that the presidential elections are valid; they were not rigged. It also stated that Aleksander Kwasniewski did not complete his university education, thus misleading the voters and violating the Electoral Law.

A man who violated the law has been elected president of the Polish Republic. The decision, based on the law, counters the moral principles of a large segment of the citizens. Such is the bitter paradox of the fledgling Polish democracy. The Supreme Court's ruling is final. The will of the majority of voters and the very institution of free elections have been respected. They would have been respected also if the Court had ruled that the elections were rigged. The decision made on Saturday by the Supreme Court, which proved itself independent of pressure from many sides, is a huge step forward toward the victory of the principles of a legal state. From now on, the opposition has an obligation to respect the election results and the presidential office. Naturally, this does not mean it should remain lenient.

The president-elect, on the other hand, has an obligation to extend a public apology for providing untrue information and violating the law. This will be a principal test of whether Aleksander Kwasniewski himself respects his office and the Polish Republic, whether he will be a credible president for all Poles and the world.

Predecessor Contests Appointment of UPR Chairman

LD1112220195 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 11 Dec 95

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mariusz Dzierzawski is the new leader of the Union of Real Politics [UPR]. Until now he was the UPR deputy chairman. He was appointed to this post after the recent stormy meeting of UPR members in Katowice. Janusz Korwin-Mikke has filed a complaint about this decision with the internal party court, which will make a final decision on the matter.

[Unidentified correspondent] Who is the present UPR chairman?

[Korwin-Mikke] That depends on the reply from the supreme [UPR] court.

[Dzierzawski] My name is Mariusz Dzierzawski and I am the chairman of UPR.

[Correspondent] Dzierzawski claims that Korwin-Mikke was recalled from his post in accordance with the UPR statute. The main reasons were authoritarian methods in party leadership and the poor result of the presidential elections.

[Dzierzawski] Recently the chairman's policy has aroused much criticism from many directions, not only from my political sympathizers. Mr. Ziemkiewicz and others criticized the chairman.

[Correspondent] Korwin-Mikke has rejected these accusations and considers his dismissal invalid.

[Korwin-Mikke] It is simply a struggle for power in the party. If it turns out that the appointment was legal, I will congratulate him. If it turns out that it was illegal, I think he will abide by the court's decision.

[Correspondent] What would be better for the party: Janusz Korwin-Mikke or Mr. Dzierzawski as leader?

[Korwin-Mikke] Everybody blows his own horn.

[Correspondent] UPR has 2,000 members. In the recent presidential elections, over 428,000 people voted for the UPR representative.

Priest Refuses To Testify in Anti-Semitism Case

LD1112230795 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2200 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prelate Henryk Jankowski, who was summoned by the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Gdansk, has refused to testify in the case filed by youth organizations from Wroclaw [southwestern Poland], which complained that Father Jankowski was promoting anti-Semitism. In a sermon delivered on 11 June, Father Jankowski said that the Star of David was inscribed in the symbols of the swastika and the hammer and sickle. Moreover, he demanded that government members should prove that they were not of Israeli origin. Prelate Jankowski does not feel guilty:

[Jankowski] I did not insult anyone. For this reason, it should be President Clinton who should apologize to me. Mr. Kwasniewski, who, during his election campaign and at various meetings, made allusions about me, should apologize to me. Also the secretary of the episcopate [Bishop Pieronek] should apologize to me, with those who are guilty, particularly Rabbi Weiss, and even representatives of the Knesset.

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Senate Endorses Military Accord With U.S.

AU1112191995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] During its plenary session today, the Senate passed the draft bill ratifying the accord between the Governments of Romania and the United States referring to measures to protect military intelligence data, which are state secrets, an accord that was signed in Washington on 21 July 1995.

Among other things, the accord defines the domain of cooperation, the operational terms, how to protect secret information, the classifying of documents, and the ways to settle litigious issues.

The conclusion of this accord, the note explaining the reasons says, comes as a new element in the ascending evolution of the cooperative relations between the two countries, does not affect in any way the pledges made by each of the signatories in other international documents, and is not directed against the security or integrity of any other country.

Also during today's session, the Senate passed the mediation reports to several draft bills. [passage omitted]

Cioflina Assesses Military Ties to U.S.

AU1212082295 Bucharest VOCEA ROMANIEI in Romanian 4 Dec 95 p 8

[MEDIAFAX note: "Thirty Percent of the Romanian Army's International Relations Are With the United States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Army Corps General Dumitru Cioflina, chief of staff of the Romanian Army, said in an interview with OBSERVATORUL MILITAR that approximately 30 percent of the Romanian Army's relations with other armies are represented by cooperation with the U.S. Army. This cooperation is taking place, at a bilateral level, in the military sphere—the Mil-to-Mil and IMET [International Military Education and Training] programs—and through participation in the Partnership for Peace [PFP]. Gen. Cioflina said that, although Romania was among the last partners included in the activities of this program, the U.S. side considers the Romanian Army's involvement in this cooperation as the most "profitable" one at the moment. The chief of staff also said that "all financial and, to a large extent, material resources for the implementation of these programs are being supplied by the U.S. side." Romania's mission is to put in the "necessary organizational effort, intelligence, consistency, and seriousness." Following the particular expansion of the Mil-to-Mil program, it has become necessary to set up groups of two or three officers for each category of armed forces, aside from the existing joint central coordinating commission.

Syria Demands Israeli Withdrawal From Golan

AU1112201395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Teodor Melescanu, the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, this evening received Mr. Raslan 'Allush, Syrian deputy foreign minister.

Their talks concentrated on bilateral relations, especially in the economy and trade, as well as on the regional and international situation of joint interest.

The guest expressed the wish of the Syrian foreign minister to pay an official visit to Romania and his hope that next year's meeting in Bucharest of the joint intergovernmental commission will lay new bases in areas that are of major interest to Romania and Syria. He also praised Romania's past and present role in the Middle East peace process, after which he reiterated Syria's principle position demanding that Israeli troops withdraw totally from the occupied territories, especially the Golan Heights. In connection with the latter, the guest expressed his hope that the summit meeting in Washington between Prime Minister Peres and U.S. President Bill Clinton will bring new elements that are necessary for a global and lasting peace in the region, our correspondent Iulia Gherman reports.

Fleeing Syrian Ship Seized, Returned by Bulgarians

AU1112212795

[FBIS Editorial Report] The Bucharest daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian on 5 December 1995 publishes on page 3 a 600-word unattributed report entitled "The Syrian Cargo Vessel Anas Escaped Sequester in Constanta Port." The author starts by explaining that the vessel "was sequestered on 9 June 1995 by court verdict until a final decision in the lawsuit between the owner of the ship, the Amoun Shipping Company, and one of its foreign business partners. The ship owners owed $180,000 to the latter, in addition to which they also have unpaid debts to the Constanta Port Authority, the Free Trade Zone Administration, and the shipping agent of the vessel in Constanta."

The author then quotes a representative of the port authorities, who says that on Sunday, 3 December, at some time "between 0200 and 0300 hours, the Anas cargo vessel, sailing under Syrian colors, which had been anchored at dock 131 of Constanta Port, left its moorings and proceeded toward the port exit." Its departure was observed by the authorities, who

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contacted its captain on the radio, requesting that it turn back or halt. "Because the vessel did not obey, we alerted the coast guard to stop the vessel forcibly. The coast guard set out to sea, but the fact that it would have had to enter Bulgarian waters made the chase ineffective." The official then says that the Bulgarian Transport and Defense Ministries were contacted with a request that they seize the Syrian ship and return it to Romanian waters, where the Romanian Navy and coast guard would take it under escort, inasmuch as "there are international conventions allowing such a thing."

The Bucharest daily ADEVARUL in Romanian on 6 December on page 1 carries a 100-word report by N.M. saying that the Anas had been seized by the Bulgarian authorities and would be handed over to the Romanians, who will be "filing charges against its crew for infractions committed on the territory of our country. The losses are assessed to amount to about 31 million lei. Before sending back the ship, the Bulgarians asked for a copy of the court ruling on the sequestration of the ship, and that document has already been sent to them."

PNTCD Views Presidential, Party Elections

AU1112174695 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's news conference of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], Deputy Ion Ratiu reiterated his opinion, according to which Emil Constantinescu is not the best candidate of the Democratic Convention [CDR] for the next presidential elections. We should not move forward with a man who cannot win the next elections, he said. At the same time, Ion Ratiu said that he is ready to run, if his party colleagues back him, for both Romania's presidency and the position of PNTCD president.

At the same news conference, Ion Diaconescu, PNTCD interim president, announced his candidacy for the PNTCD's presidency at the forthcoming congress of this political grouping. Ion Diaconescu also said that Emil Constantinescu's enrollment in the PNTCD is purely formal. It does not violate the CDR protocols and should not be interpreted as anything but a requirement to observe the legal provisions for the CDR leader's candidacy for the Senate.

Present at the news conference, PNTCD Vice President Gabriel Tepelea criticized the attitude of the Ministry of Research and the Ministry of Finance, which decided to limit to half of 1 percent of the gross domestic product the funds allocated by the Education and Science Commission of the Chamber of Deputies to financing research and development activities, our correspondent Laurentiu Vaduva reports.

PUNR's Gavra Views Competition With PDSR

AU1212130295 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 5 Dec 95 p 6

[Interview with Ioan Gavra, vice president of the Romanian National Unity Party-PUNR, by Mirela Soare; place and date not given: "The Social Democracy Party of Romania and PUNR Are Competing Politically but Are Partners in Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Soare] Relations between the Romanian National Unity Party-PUNR and the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] are increasingly more tense at the top level. The two parties, which are now in direct competition at the political level, have nevertheless signed a protocol on governmental alliance as well as a quadripartite protocol. Mr. Vice President Ioan Gavra, what will happen to the aforementioned two protocols, given the present state of affairs?

[Gavra] The PDSR and PUNR have been partners in government for two years. We will continue to be partners, in accordance with the alliance protocol, and we will obviously observe the mutually assumed commitments. From a political viewpoint, the competition between PUNR and the PDSR has already started and is in full swing. Therefore, at the electoral level, the two parties are following their own strategy and doctrine, and the party that manages to convince the electorate and prove its credibility will emerge victorious.

We are competing politically but are partners in government, something that presupposes both solidarity and competition, but only in a professional manner.

[Soare] A pressing problem that equally concerns the banking experts, the political leaders, and the public at large is the further devaluation of the national currency. What are your comments on that?

[Gavra] The devaluation of the national currency was to be expected. Such a devaluation was foreseeable, given the huge imports of products and the hard currency outflows by private economic units.

Of course, we are in a free market economy, but imports are currently exceeding exports. Consequently, the budget deficit can only grow. The IMF, a professional body in financial matters, has certain matrixes. Therefore, in view of its performance requirements, the IMF will not support those countries that do not fit into these criteria.

Given these matrixes and the fact that we have relations of partnership with the IMF and have signed all of the agreements with the World Bank and other international partners, we agreed to reduce the budget deficit for 1996, so as to fit into the required parameters of efficiency and performance.

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[Soare] You said that the devaluation of the national currency is also due to the large imports. What does PUNR envisage for cutting imports?

[Gavra] There is only one chance to cut imports, namely, to give real value to the national currency and to increase the exchange rates, something that will facilitate exports. This is so because, unfortunately, imports consist of products that can be found on the domestic market, too, at least at the same qualitative level as the products coming from abroad. However, in view of international dumping practices, the imported goods cost less, thus creating competition for similar domestic products.

[Soare] When will we be able to talk about stabilizing the currency?

[Gavra] Its rate is going to be stabilized in a few months, so that the trade balance will become positive. In these circumstances, our international banking partners, the IMF, and our trading partners will acquire another image about Romania's economic evolution. We are not so much interested in the IMF's financial backing because it does not amount to all that much hard currency. What is important is the opening we are achieving through the accord with the IMF and the world banking system because we are the country with the least foreign debt in Central and East Europe and are capable of repaying our current debts.

Army To Set Up Rapid Reaction Force Units

AU1212130195 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 7 Dec 95 p 8

[Article by George Radian: "For the First Time in Its History, the Romanian Army Is Setting Up a Rapid Reaction Force"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The next reform stage of the Romanian Army stipulates the setting up of a rapid reaction force, which is an absolute novelty for our Army. With the purpose of elaborating a conception and a structure appropriate for our country's circumstances, they are furthering bilateral contacts with the armies of several countries experienced in this domain.

Studying the experience of others and the elaboration of variants allowing for the decisionmakers to opt for the best solutions is one of the basic principles of the restructuring and modernization of our country's Army. To that purpose, between 4 and 5 December, Colonel Antohi Dumitru, section head at the Army General Staff Operations Directorate, made a tour to gather material at the Rapid Action Force (FAR) unit leadership of the French Army. His goal was to find out and study the principles governing the leading and utilization of that force, considering the long experience accumulated in that domain in France.

By means of a flexible and efficient organization structure, as well as adequate technical and material equipment, such forces have a high degree of interoperational readiness [interoperabilitate] and action capacity at any time and under any weather conditions. Their core consists of airborne units, such as paratroopers, marines, light armored units, or pioneer-diversion units, which act within modular units of various size, depending on the circumstances and the task they have to fulfill. Typical of such forces is the very good technical endowment of their leadership (communications equipment and automated troop command), as well as the mobile and extensive nature of their logistic systems.

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Federal

Prime Minister, UN Envoy Kofi Annan Hold Talks

LD1112193095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1734 GMT 11 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Dr. Radoje Kontic and the special representative of the U.N. secretary-general for the former Yugoslavia Kofi Annan discussed Monday in Belgrade the implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia and the comprehensive political resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Kontic ruled out any possibility of holding up the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, but pointed to the danger of attempts to jeopardize it or slow it down, the Federal Information Secretariat said in a statement.

He also pointed to the need for an immediate normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United Nations and other international organizations and institutions, adding that only under such conditions can Yugoslavia be a key factor of peace and stability in the Balkans.

Kofi Annan pointed to a fresh atmosphere prevailing in Balkan relations following the Dayton Agreement and to the new U.N. role in the former Yugoslavia.

Activities of the world organization will primarily be humanitarian, aimed at laying the conditions for the normalization of life and the return of refugees, he said.

Annan also expressed hope that international police would play an important role in confidence-building among refugees for their return, the statement says.

UN Envoy, Milosevic Discuss Srem-Baranja

LD1112235395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2327 GMT 11 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—The U.N. secretary general's special envoy to former Yugoslavia Kofi Annan said in Belgrade on Monday that the United Nations would continue its mission to former Yugoslavia, with special obligations in the Srem-Baranja region.

Annan was speaking after meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Milosevic and Annan discussed the process of comprehensive normalization of relations in former Yugoslavia and consolidation of peace and stability in the region.

Special attention was paid to the efforts for creating conditions for a complete normalization of life in the Srem-Baranja region (U.N. sector east).

Meeting reporters before leaving Belgrade, Annan said he had discussed with President Milosevic and, earlier, with Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the implementation of the Nov. 21 Dayton accord on Bosnia and the role of the United Nations in light of this.

Among the tasks lying ahead, Annan mentioned the repatriation of refugees, the release of prisoners and other humanitarian problems.

He said that the United Nations was aware of the humanitarian needs of the millions in the region, and that the NATO-led Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) should be efficacious in implementing the peace accord, which is to be signed in Paris later in December.

Asked about the missing French pilots downed over Bosnia in late August, he said that the French Government was very much interested in what had become of them.

The French Government attributes great importance to the matter, and is closely cooperating with Milosevic on it, said Annan.

He condemned the torching of Serb houses in Croat-occupied Mrkonjic-Grad that should be restored to Serb control under the Dayton accord, and deplored the fact that the force of occupation had not abandoned its scorched-earth policy.

He described the issue of the Srem-Baranja region as crucial to over-all normalization in the region, and explained that the United Nations was doing its utmost for the implementation of the Erdut accord struck between the region's Serbs and the Zagreb government.

He said that the United Nations, i.e. the international community, was required to help demilitarize the region, bring life back to normal and set up an international administration for a transitional period of no less than one year.

Annan said that there was agreement that the administrator for the Srem-Baranja region should be from the United States, but that the secretary general had not yet said his last word in the matter.

The Srem-Baranja region (U.N. sector east) is the only part of the republic of Serb Krajina that the Croatian army has not invaded after storming its western, northern and southern parts in early May and early August of this year.

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The invading Croatian army killed thousands of Serb civilians and forced more than 260,000 others into exile, plundering and torching their homes.

Bosnian Peace Accord Stabilizing Factor in Area

LD1112175295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1536 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—The implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina and support for peace in the former Yugoslavia is a stabilizing factor in the entire region.

This was stated during talks between the delegation of the parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the delegation of the NATO assembly in Belgrade Monday.

The Yugoslav parliament delegation is led by the president of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Chamber of the Republics, Slobodan Babic, and the NATO assembly delegation by its President Karsten Fogt, the Yugoslav parliament press office said.

The need was stressed at the talks to ensure the security of Bosnian Serbs living in Sarajevo, to prevent their exodus, the statement said.

It was pointed out at the talks that human rights are guaranteed to all Yugoslav citizens and that a part of the Albanian national minority in the southern Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija does not want to make use of those rights, the statement said.

Fogt said that the position of the NATO assembly is that Kosovo is an integral part of Yugoslavia and that its laws and Constitution also apply to that province, the statement said.

A strong separatist movement of ethnic Albanians, which has declared its republic of Kosovo and illegal bodies of the 'republic', has been active for decades in the province and is advocating its secession from Serbia and merging with Albania, the statement said.

Ethnic Albanians have refused in the past few years to take part in multiparty elections in Serbia and Yugoslavia, and do not recognize the Constitution and the laws of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Milosevic Receives Stoltenberg for Farewell Visit

LD1112192695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1827 GMT 11 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 11 (TANJUG) — Serbian President slobodan Milosevic on Monday received co-chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg for a farewell visit.

Milosevic stressed Stoltenberg's contribution in settling the Yugoslav crisis and bringing about peace to the war-struck areas. He said Stoltenberg's consistency in an unbiased treatment of all sides in the conflict and in securing their equality as prerequisites for a peaceful and political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis was of paramount importance for a comprehensive normalization of relations in the Balkans.

Stoltenberg said his mission had been fulfilled with the signing of the peace accords on the Srem-Baranja region and Bosnia. He said he believed his job was done, in which context he came to visit Milosevic, whom he said was a key figure in the entire process since he became involved in early 1993. He said it was extremely important that the funds and personnel arrive for the enforcement of the peace accord on the Srem-Baranja region, said Stoltenberg, adding that without this the entire peace process might collapse, not only in the Srem-Baranja region, but in Bosnia as well, with grave consequences.

The Srem-Baranja region is the only part of the Republic of Serb Krajina that remains after Croatian aggressions on the western, northern and southern parts of the republic in May and August.

Defense Minister Receives NATO Assembly Delegation

LD1112143295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic has received a delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly headed by its President Karsten Voigt.

During the talks they exchanged opinions on the current military and political situation and the possibility of cooperation between the FRY and the NATO Assembly in the implementation of the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina, after it is signed in Paris, the information service of the federal Defense Ministry announced today.

Front-Line State Reaction to Lifting of Sanctions

96P20145A

[FBIS Media Note] Most front-line states reacted positively to the suspension of UN economic sanctions and showed interest in the immediate resumption of economic ties to the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro), em-

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phasizing the high losses they incurred because of the sanction regime.

Hungary

Having suspended all embargo measures against Yugoslavia, the Hungarian government expressed interest in the "soonest possible normalization" of all, especially economic relations with Yugoslavia (TANJUG, 6 December).

—With the embargo lifted, traffic has increased at all, but especially at the Tompa-Kelebija and Reske-Horgos border crossings (Tanjug, 23 November);

—On 29 November, a delegation of the Hungarian State Railways held talks in Serbia on ways to reorganize Hungarian-Yugoslav rail traffic and settle Yugoslav Railways' debts to Hungary, valued at 80 million Swiss francs (Budapest MTI, 29 November);

—On 23 November, the Hungarian Oil and Gas Company increased the flow of Russian natural gas to Yugoslavia to the pre-embargo level of 186.5 million cubic meters per month (MTI, 23 November);

—On 24 November, the Hungarian Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations and the Federation of Yugoslav Engineers and Technicians signed an agreement to re-establish scientific and technical cooperation (MTI, 24 November).

Romania

According to Yugoslav media, Romania is prepared to resume cooperation immediately in the areas of chemistry, petrochemistry, transport, machinery, and agriculture. Overall trade is soon expected to exceed one billion dollars (TANJUG, 28 November).

—During a high-level meeting in Belgrade on November 27-28 representatives of the FRY and Romania signed a most-favored-nation status agreement and agreements on economic cooperation, the promotion and mutual protection of investments, bilateral scientific and technical cooperation, and educational and cultural cooperation (TANJUG, 28 November);

—According to Romanian media reports, Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu suggested to his Belgrade hosts some additional projects, including the construction of a new hydroelectric power system, Iron Gates III, and restoration of the hydroelectric power system, Iron Gates II (ROMPRES, 29 November);

—Romanian State Secretary Stefan Mihailescu informed neighboring states that rail traffic with the FRY has been "normalized" and the number of trains increased to 10 to 12 daily (TANJUG, 5 November).

Bulgaria

The Bulgarian government hopes that the lifting of sanctions will mark the beginning of normal bilateral trade and an end to the "suitcase trade," according to the BTA news agency (28 November).

—Kiril Tsochev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade and foreign economic cooperation, said that the normalization of economic relations would "take some time" because both countries "need first to prepare the legal groundwork" for bilateral trade. Tsochev stressed as "most important" Bulgaria's plans to participate in the reconstruction of the former Yugoslavia (BTA, 28 November);

—The FRY Information Ministry announced on 5 December that a Bulgarian delegation of state and economic officials led by Tsochev would visit Yugoslavia "shortly" to explore possibilities for "cooperation between the two neighboring and friendly countries" (TANJUG, 5 December);

—Yugoslav customs officials reported an increase in road and rail traffic at the Dimitrovgrad border crossing (TANJUG, 6 December).

Albania

The Albanian government has instructed its customs officials to discontinue sanctions against the FRY.

—Within the framework of "good-neighborly relations" and to "promote bilateral cooperation" between Montenegro and Albania, an Albanian delegation led by Abdul Xaja, minister for mineral resources and energy, paid a two-day visit to Miodrag Gomilanović, Montenegrin minister for industry, energy, and mining. Their talks focused on expanding cooperation in the areas of electrical power, oil industry, mining, and geological exploration (TANJUG, 4 December).

Macedonia

The Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] public, which had initially greeted the suspension of sanctions with "euphoria," was "surprised and offended" (VECER, 30 November) when Serbia unexpectedly imposed steep tariffs on Macedonian products on 28 November.

—Dusan Petrevski, president of the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce, echoed the complaints of Macedonian businessmen that an "average increase of 25 percent in the customs rate for Macedonian finished products" will have a negative effect on cooperation between the two countries. The Macedonians claimed that the tariffs violate a 26 November agreement to limit the customs

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duties to a processing fee of one percent on all goods (MIC, 29 November);

—Noting that Belgrade's action "disappointed" those who expected "immediate political rapprochement" between Skopje and Belgrade, VECER said on 30 November that Macedonia will have to accept the fact that it does not have a special trade relationship with Serbia. This fact was underlined by the Macedonian government's announcement that it was introducing reciprocal tariffs on FRY goods within 24 hours, according to VECER.

—NOVA MAKEDONIJA wondered on 2 December why Macedonia should be "surprised" to be treated like any other "foreign country" by the FRY customs authorities.

Serbia

Milosevic Expects Balkans To Be 'Zone of Peace'

LD1112223695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2220 GMT 11 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said on Monday that he expected the Balkans to become a zone of peace and cooperation.

Speaking with Norwegian reporters in Belgrade after meeting the European Union's envoy to former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg, Milosevic said he was convinced that this was the future of the region.

Asked what would happen if the leadership of the (Bosnian Serb state) Republika Srpska dishonoured the Bosnia peace accord, reached in Dayton, Ohio, on Nov. 21, Milosevic said it was better not to consider that possibility.

He added it was unrealistic to expect the Republika Srpska leaders not to honour the peace accord when the entire leadership had accepted it in a meeting with top Yugoslav officials shortly after it was reached.

They upheld and endorsed the Dayton accord, and it is to be expected that they will all meet the obligations stemming from it, said the Serbian president who initialled the accord as head of the Yugoslav delegation which represented also Bosnian Serb interests.

Milosevic said that peace in the Balkans was a big historic step, taken for the benefit of all those living in the region, all citizens, nations and countries of the Balkans.

He said he therefore saw no reason why anybody should oppose or reject the accord.

Asked about the implementation of the Serb-Croatian accord for the Srem-Baranja region (formerly U.N. sector east), Milosevic said that all that was needed now was to honour what the representatives of eastern Slavonia and the Zagreb government had accepted.

The Erdut accord was reached by the two sides, he said and added that he therefore expected both sides to support its successful implementation.

The accord, signed in late November by representatives of the Srem-Baranja region's Serbs and the Zagreb government, envisages for dealing with the Serb-populated region's problems by peaceful means.

The region is the only one of the original four U.N.-protected areas that the Croatian Army has not invaded.

The Erdut accord envisages for the international administration of the region for at least one year, and its demilitarisation.

Asked about the missing French airmen that were shot down over Republika Srpska in late August, Milosevic briefly explained that everything was being done to help shed light on the matter, and hoped that the efforts would bear fruit.

Milosevic Receives U.S. Congressional Delegation

LD1112144695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 December (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic this morning received a group of 20 U.S. Congressmen, headed by Dennis Hastert, a Republican from Illinois. In completely frank talks, the U.S. Congressmen showed special interest in the current political problems in the Balkan region, following the Dayton agreement, as well as for the main aspects concerning the key elements of its implementation. In that context, their attention focused on the deployment of international forces, whose presence in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina should facilitate the implementation of the Dayton agreement.

The U.S. Congressmen were also informed about the most important internal issues in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], important for its further successful development.

The meeting was attended by the charge d'affaires of the U.S. Embassy in the FRY, Rudolf Perina.

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Receives 2d Congressional Group

LD1112222995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2149 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 December (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this evening received another group of 15 U.S. congressmen and their aides, led by Ron Packard, a Republican from California.

In open and cordial talks, the U.S. congressmen were interested in the current development of the political situation in the region in the wake of the signing of the Dayton peace agreement and also in the issues of importance for the stability, peace, and internal development of our country.

Attention was also paid to the issues of reestablishing and improving bilateral relations and comprehensive cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United States, for which mutual interest and wide-ranging possibilities exist.

The meeting was also attended by Rudolf Perina, charge d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade.

Minister Views Economic 'Renewal,' German Trade

AU1112183295 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 95 p 8

[Interview with Serbian Minister Without Portfolio Dragan Tomic by Marko Winter; place and date not given: "Yugoslavia Wants To Return to the World Market"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Winter] How do you see the present economic situation of your country? How have you prepared for the time after the lifting or suspension of the sanctions?

[Tomic] We have worked out a program for economic renewal to tackle the problems caused by the sanctions, which were forced upon us. The sanctions have led to major problems and have done enormous damage. We estimate this damage to be $150 billion. This does not take the "long-term effects" into account; thus, many experts have left the country.

Of course, the economic situation is very tense, but production is beginning to pick up again. In the first 10 months of 1995 production was up 7 percent on 1994.

Price increases are our biggest problem. There is great demand for funds, as the sanctions have exhausted the economy to a worrying degree, and this has led to deficiency symptoms in many fields.

To stimulate the economy, we expect to be supported with international capital in the form of common investment and credit business, as was the case before the embargo. Germany was our number one business partner; our relations included all forms of business, from trade to credits. If this situation can be restored, we will see a successful renewal of the economy.

[Winter] Belgrade is talking about the No. 2 reform program to stabilize and restructure the economy.

[Tomic] Program No. 2, as National Bank Governor Avramovic has officially called it, involves drastic changes. One of these measures is the adjustment of the dinar exchange rate to the rate of the German mark on the day when the sanctions are lifted. Another important step is the liberalization of foreign trade. Avramovic advocates a complete liberalization of exports and imports. Interest rate policy is a third element. Interest rates are to be determined according to the principle of supply and demand.

The restructuring of the economy primarily concerns privatization. What is open is the model to be used. We do not want to repeat the mistakes that others have made: hasty privatization destroying production capacities that would still be quite capable of selling products and making profits.

After all, privatization also took the West a long time, and there are still some nationalized industries that are only being privatized now, for instance in Italy. We know, of course, that we will have to close down some companies, make others smaller, and enlarge others to make them competitive on the international market. We are aiming at a structure that can adjust to the European economic structure and is competitive.

[Winter] A great number of controversial issues still seem to be open; restructuring of public property, as it was called in Yugoslavia, is not all that simple.

[Tomic] Unlike other East European countries, Yugoslavia always had a large proportion of privately owned companies and we also have privately owned farms. That is an advantage today. Some 200,000 private companies have been established since 1989. This continues, and everyone who has the funds can buy land and property and establish a private firm. The debate is focusing on big systems now. The question is what should remain nationalized and how the privatization will be handled. There is no party in Yugoslavia that opposes privatization. And there is nobody who is against introducing the market economy. But we have conditions that are different from anywhere else. We also know that the risk is considered very high in our

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country. That is why we have to ensure a high degree of security for the capital of our foreign partners.

[Winter] You have mentioned private farms. But there were also very modern collectives in the former Yugoslavia. What has happened to them?

[Tomic] A number of collectives have been turned into public limited companies or mixed enterprises. We want to maintain them as technologically uniform companies, because they are more profitable that way. Generally speaking, I would say that things will be easiest in agriculture, also in returning to the world market. But we still have to expand our processing capacities, so that we do not only export large quantities of raw materials, such as wheat and corn, but also processed products.

[Winter] You have been in Germany recently. What opportunity do you see for the resumption of economic cooperation with the FRG?

[Tomic] As I mentioned before, Germany used to be our biggest trading partner. Personal contacts have remained intact despite the embargo. That means that negotiations can be resumed without any major preparations. A large number of our firms in Germany were frozen, but not dissolved. That is also an advantage.

During our visit to Germany, and to the Krupp company in particular, we had a good impression. Since we have meanwhile prepared development programs for the railroad, road construction, postal and telecommunication services, and the metal and chemical industries, that is, fields where we fell behind technologically over the past four years, conditions for cooperation are good. In these fields we mainly need investment. Another factor is that our infrastructure is in the center of the Balkans, so to speak; Europe needs modern connecting routes here. German firms have great interest in these projects. We have already had the first delegations here, one from Siemens for instance, and we are expecting others, also from Krupp and Ferrostahl, to discuss specific deals. The Yugoslav market is wide open to German industry and expectations are very high on both sides.

Albanian Press Views Socialist Party 'Purge'

AU1212114695 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 4 Dec 95 p 6

[Commentary by Fahri Musliu: "Now Come the Changes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 2 December — The confused political scene in Belgrade after the Dayton agreement that put a stop to the tragic four-year war in the former Yugoslavia will now change significantly. It is now dominated by the forces of what is called the peace bloc, to which some political parties of the "militant nationalist wing," such as the Democrats of Djindjic and Kostunica, have now begun to attach themselves. The militant Radicals of the ultranationalist Vojislav Seselj have remained isolated.

The warmongers and propagandists of chauvinism are now being flattered as peacemakers, while the Serbian Socialists are trying to make capital out of the lifting of sanctions, portraying the pressure of the democratic world, which used the force of arms and the Dayton agreement to oblige the Serbs to stop the war, as a triumph for Milosevic and his party.

Just as at the start of the Yugoslav crisis, when Serbian Television mobilized a spirit of militancy and chauvinism and fomented hatred against everything that was not Serbian, the media are again brainwashing the people and persuading them that "Serbia and its leadership have always favored peace," as if everybody were suffering from amnesia, and the poisonous magazine and press articles, the rallies, and the television programs of the past had been cast into oblivion. This situation, in which it is no longer possible to find scapegoats on the other side, has required readjustments in Serbian political forces and among the Serbian public, who are still reeling from the shock of the failure of the dismal and megalomaniac hegemonistic plans and from the greatest political and military defeat the Serbian nation has ever suffered in the course of its entire history.

After turning his back on his no longer useful sidekicks such as Karadzic, Mladic, and many Serbs of Bosnia and Croatia who have been declared war criminals, Milosevic has been striving, through his party network, to purge his closest Socialist accomplices, dismissing the most senior party officials such as Borisav Jovic, the academician Mihajlo Markovic, Milorad Vucelic, Slobodan Jovanovic, and Radovan Pankov, and replacing them with people whom he still considers loyal, such as Nikola Sainovic, Dragan Tomic, Zoran Lilic, Milan Milutinovic, Mirko Marjanovic, and Bosko Perosevic. These cadre changes at the top of the Socialist Party have been expected in Belgrade, but Milosevic has carried them out only after securing proper support in the wake of the end of the war in Bosnia. Dr. Mira Markovic, the Serbian president's wife and leader of the United Yugoslav Left, had predicted the removal of Jovic, Markovic, and Vucelic some time ago in her regular column in the Belgrade magazine DUGA. She conducted an argument with the academician Mihajlo Markovic, the Socialist Party's ideologue, accusing him of abandoning his left-wing ideas and shifting to the nationalist camp. She criticized Milorad Vucelic for "a militant editorial policy in the state and radio and television and even embezzlement," and Vucelic was indeed dismissed in August from his post as radio-television

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director. She criticized Jovic for publishing his book, "The Last Days of the SFRY — Diary Notes, 1990-1992," which, Ms. Markovic announced, "is a barbaric exhibition."

Let us remember that this book by Borisav Jovic, a former member and indeed final president of the SFRY Presidency, was published by the Politika company, whose director Zivorad Minovic was hastily dismissed one month ago, and was launched at the time when Serbian President Milosevic was in Ohio in the United States. In his diary entries, Jovic describes the dramatic moments of the destruction of Yugoslavia, in which the main protagonists, he claims, were Slobodan Milosevic and the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army led by General Veljko Kadijevic. Jovic here tries to dissociate himself from these tragic decisions and either consciously or unconsciously, as political circles and analysts in Belgrade say, casts the blame on Slobodan Milosevic as "the main culprit for the tragedy of Yugoslavia." The book has therefore caused an earthquake among the public here, especially when inside sources report that Milosevic begged Jovic to remove some diary extracts from the book, which Jovic refused to do. Unable to stomach this, Milosevic then punished his closest and most loyal accomplice, whom one journalist called his main "adviser" since the beginning of the antibureaucratic revolution. Political circles in Serbia were nevertheless surprised by the dismissal of Slobodan Jovanovic, Milosevic's right-hand man since the Eighth Plenum of the League of Communists of Serbia and editor in chief of POLITIKA EKSPRES, as well as the dismissal of the Politika company director Zivorad Minovic. It is said that the reason behind this was the struggle for power in the south of Serbia between Jovanovic, who was born in Vranje, and Dragan Tomic, director of Simpo and a leading Serbian Government minister. However, it is said that a further reason has been the persistently militant editorial policy of the TANJUG news agency. It is expected that Jovanovic, having been banished from the party, will also leave TANJUG. The dismissal of Radovan Pankov, the "iron fist" at the time of the "yoghurt revolution" that demolished the autonomy of Vojvodina, is connected with his inability as minister for relations with Serbs outside Serbia to spread the Serbian president's "policy of peace" among his compatriots that are scattered to the four winds. To replace these dismissed officials, Milosevic has chosen his most loyal followers such as Nikola Sainovic. The choice of new leaders for the Socialist Party, whose higher echelons consist mainly of senior government officials of the republic and the federation and powerful businessmen, testifies to President Milosevic's intention to significantly strengthen the party leadership and thus to tighten his control over the entire party. The election of Zoran Lilic, currently performing the function of president of the state that calls itself Yugoslavia, to the post of Socialist Party deputy chairman has been viewed as Milosevic's way of preparing the ground to take the helm of the Serbian-Montenegrin federation. However, Belgrade analysts also consider that the purges in the ranks of the ruling Socialist Party will soon become more intensive among its lower ranks, too, so that the party will be purged of "extremist" forces before its Third Congress, announced for the beginning of March next year, with the slogan of "Serbia integrated in Europe and the world." It is also said that the Socialist Party, in coalition with the United Yugoslav Left, will form a left-wing bloc of a social democratic character that will be able to manage the country under new conditions.

With these purges in the ranks of his own party, Slobodan Milosevic has embarked on a final settling of accounts with all the extremist and nationalist forces in Serbia that might obstruct the realization of his "policy of peace," his plans to pull Serbia out of the abyss into which he himself plunged it, and his performance of his obligations to the international community. The next few days are therefore expected to be highly dramatic, because the constellations of Serbian politics will experience some fast readjustment to adapt to new realities and to start the battle for votes in the elections that must be held next year, perhaps as early as spring.

Montenegro

Opposition Party Damns Yugoslav Army

LD1112172295 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 11 Dec (BETA)—The youth organization of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro [Liberalni Savez Crne Gore, LSCG; Montenegrin opposition party] has said that the Yugoslav Army "is an occupying force, which is the mainstay of Greater Serbian aspirations and the anti-Montenegrin imperial order," MONTENA-FAX [independent Montenegrin news agency] reports.

In a resolution adopted yesterday at the extraordinary congress of the LSCG, the young Liberals said they supported "an independent Montenegrin state, its international recognition and integration into progressive developments in the international community."

They condemned the Podgorica regime for "isolating Montenegro from the international community" and for its "vassal relations with the Belgrade authorities."

The young Liberals also said that Montenegro was their only homeland and that "its freedom, statehood, and democracy have no alternative."

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